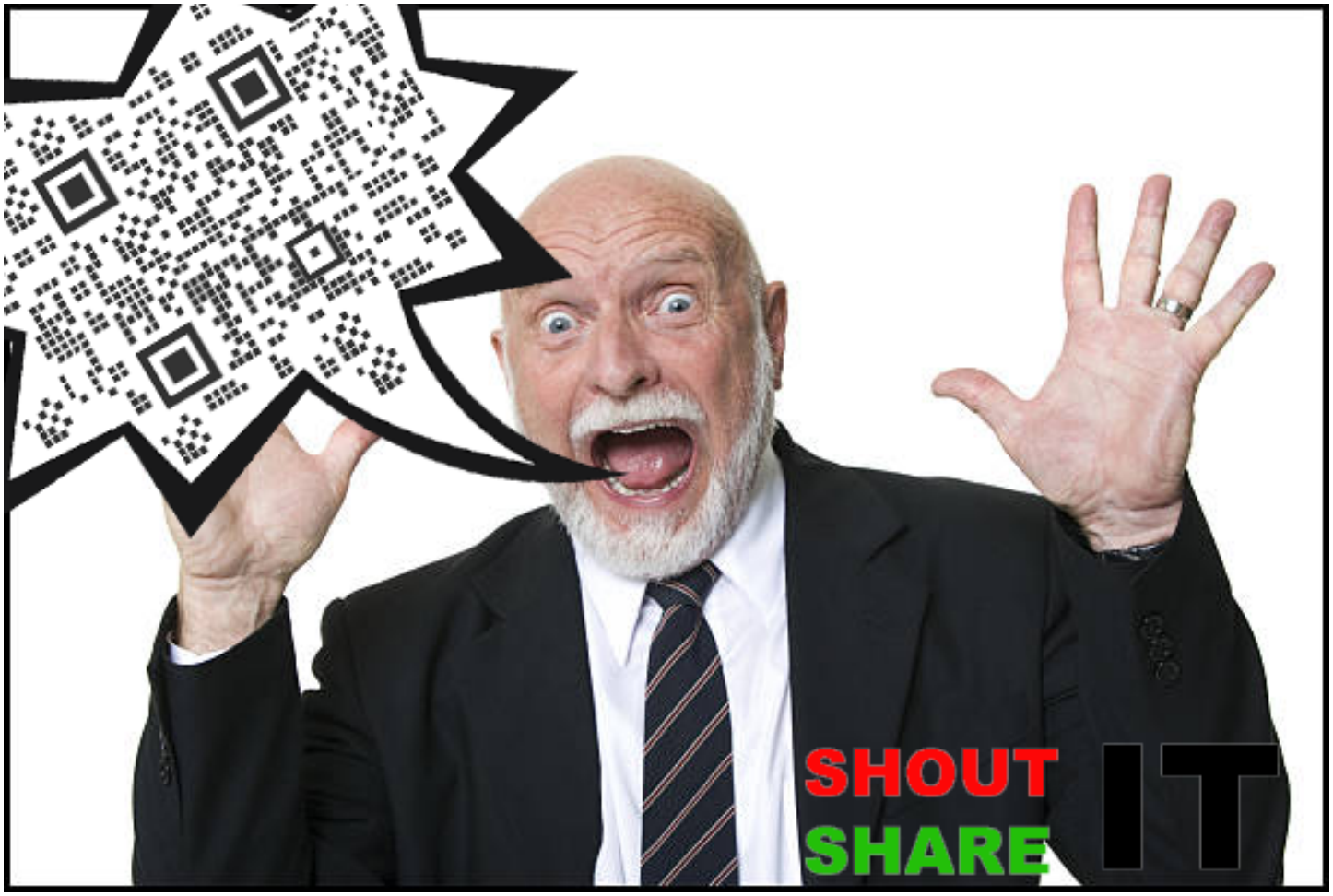
HINDI AND URDU SINCE 1800

A COMMON READER

C. Shackle
R. Snell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The parallel evolution over the last two hundred years or so of modern Hindi and Urdu as intimately related but everincreasingly divergent languages is both a fascinating and an extraordinarily confused process. The purpose of this Reader is both to underline the fascination and to attempt to remove some of the confusion.

The book has been designed to meet the needs of students with a knowledge of Hindi-Urdu and a familiarity with both scripts. A hitherto unfilled gap in the provision of suitably annotated material giving an overall picture of both languages is now also filled. It is also anticipated that the book may prove helpful to students with competence in only one of the two languages, who should benefit from the detailed study of the passages in either Hindi or Urdu and the broader context established by this jointly conceived format. Perhaps optimistically, the extensive introduction and the prefatory notes to the passages will serve to underpin a wider academic audience's generalizations.

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HINDI AND URDU SINCE 1800
A COMMON READER

Hindi and Urdu since 1800

A common reader

Christopher Shackle
Professor of Modern Languages of South Asia in the University of London

Rupert Snell
Lecturer in Hindi, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

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As coming from an Eastern Land,
I'd have the cousins understand,
'Tis absolutely stiff with speeches,
An Eastern printing offices teaches,
And rich with Hindu mystery
In Tamil, Urdu and Hindi

For instance - when the loathsome '*tár*'
Calls the '*chuprassi*' from afar
And at your '*hookum*' swift he goes
A '*tunda moorghie*' - minus clothes
Across the '*maidan's*' icy space
With '*kummels*' clouted round his face
This to the English mind - I'm sure -
Might seem a little bit obscure
But to *this* Anglo-Indian one
It shows his labour is begun.

Rudyard Kipling c. 1883

SOAS South Asian Texts

During the period of British colonial rule in India, members of the education services and others felt it to be a natural part of their duties to edit important works of South Asian literature, so as to make them more accessible to English-speaking readers. The initiative represented by these nineteenth century editions, which are now difficult to obtain, has sadly long since been allowed to lapse.

The present series of SOAS South Asian Texts represents an attempt to revive this tradition in such a way as to meet the rather different requirements and expectations of students of South Asian literature today. The series is designed for those who have a basic reading knowledge of the language, but require the assistance of explanatory material in English in approaching original literary texts.

All volumes in the series accordingly begin with an editorial introduction in English, followed by the text itself, which is accompanied by explanatory notes and a glossary that includes all words except those assumed to be familiar to those with an elementary knowledge of the language. It has not been thought necessary to provide translations of modern prose, but older verse texts are accompanied by full English translations. Though these renderings are primarily designed to assist understanding of the originals, and themselves make no claim to any literary merit, it is hoped that they and the editorial introductions may serve to introduce some of the classics of South Asian literature to those unable to read them in their original language.

Christopher Shackle
Rupert Snell

Series Editors

Preface

The parallel evolution over the last two hundred years or so of modern Hindi and Urdu as intimately related but ever-increasingly divergent languages is both a fascinating and an extraordinarily confused process. The purpose of this Reader is both to underline the fascination and to attempt to remove some of the confusion.

The book has been designed primarily to meet the needs of second-year university students with a first-year knowledge of Hindi-Urdu and a familiarity with both scripts. It is hoped that, for them, a hitherto unfilled gap in the provision of suitably annotated material giving an overall picture of both languages is now filled. It is also anticipated that it may prove helpful to students with competence in only one of the two languages, who should benefit from the detailed study of the passages in either Hindi or Urdu and the broader context established by our jointly conceived format. Perhaps optimistically, we also hope that the extensive introduction and the prefatory notes to the passages will serve to underpin a wider academic audience's generalizations.

The arrangement of the book is broadly in conformity with the format conceived for the SOAS South Asian Texts series. The introduction is divided into two parts. The first consists of a broad sketch of the evolution of Hindi and Urdu towards their present mutually defined roles. The second part comprises a more technical linguistic account of the differential modifications of their shared core-components by overt or tacit incorporations of elements from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and English. Maps serve to indicate the geographical context, and a bibliography of useful English sources to suggest both the narrower and wider issues involved.

The main part of the book consists of 24 prose extracts drawn equally from Hindi and Urdu sources and presented in the appropriate script. Each passage concerns some aspect of language use, and is prefaced by a short introduction summarizing its content and setting it in its historical and stylistic context. A supplementary note indicates the source of the text and mentions relevant secondary materials in English, whether translations or appropriate contextual materials. The passages are followed by extensive notes commenting upon both style and content. Vocabulary items not expected to be known by second-year students are fully covered in the glossaries, with the necessary addition of romanized transcriptions in the case of the Urdu-English glossary. An index of linguistic terms follows, since we have conceived it as part of our task to initiate likely readers into some necessary familiarity with these, if they are ever to be able to pick their way through the Hindi-Urdu tangle.

While Rupert Snell has had initial responsibility for devising the Hindi sections of this book, and Christopher Shackle a similar role for its corresponding Urdu-based portions, this has been very much a joint endeavour, and we hope that our readers will learn as much from it as we have from each other during its devising. Mistakes are equally our own, and no responsibility attaches to our shared gratitude to those colleagues who have helped so much in our preparation.

We wish to thank Oxford University Press for permission to quote from Kipling's 'A Cousin's Christmas Card', from *Early verse by Rudyard Kipling 1879–1889* edited by Andrew Rutherford (1986).

We are also grateful to the following copyright-holders for their kind permission to reproduce the extracts shown: Majlis-e Taraqqi-e Adab (4); Hindi Sahitya Sammelan (7); Vividh Bharti Prakashan (8); The Educational Book House (13); Shaikh Ghulam Ali (22); Ramvilas Sharma (23); Ainul Haq Faridkoti (24). Silence from the other publishers, all of whom were approached, has been taken as consent.

We are also grateful to the SOAS Publications Committee for meeting the full costs of publication; and to Martin Daly for his unfailing help and encouragement.

Christopher Shackle
Rupert Snell

London
April 1988

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Conventions

The convergent systems of transliteration employed for the representation of Hindi and Urdu words in bold Roman type are explained in paragraphs 511–2 of the introduction.

Place names are throughout written without diacritics in their conventional English spelling. Personal names are similarly written in accordance with chosen English spellings or — in the case of older writers — in the most easily recognizable forms, e.g. 'Ghalib', 'Harishchandra', etc. In the names of languages, diacritics have been used only is designations which may be unfamiliar, e.g. 'Dakanī' (cf. unmarked 'Urdu').

A similar double standard has been applied between the spellings of Hindu-Urdu book-titles, which are strictly transcribed in italics, versus the looser romanizations of the names of publishers.

Bibliographical references are made in accordance with the note which precedes the list of secondary titles in English given at the end of the introduction.

Abbreviations of language-names, e.g. H = Hindi, and of common grammatical terms, e.g. s. = singular, are set out in the table following.

Cross-references

References to passages are to the serial numbers set out on pp. ix–x, and are printed in bold, e.g. cf. **6**.

References to the introduction are in terms of its numbered paragraphs, e.g. cf. 741.

References within the notes to the passages are deliberately internal only, without cross-references to other passages, and follow the convention 'cf. 6 *abhyās*', where the numeral indicates a line number.

A note on practical use of this book

The passages are arranged chronologically, without regard to intrinsic difficulty of language. In terms of teaching or private study, the following order of approach to the passages might be suggested:

Hindi: 19, 5, 21, 12, 16, 17, 15, 20, 8, 7, 2, 22.

Urdu: 9, 18, 4, 24, 10, 14, 6, 22, 13, 1, 3, 11.

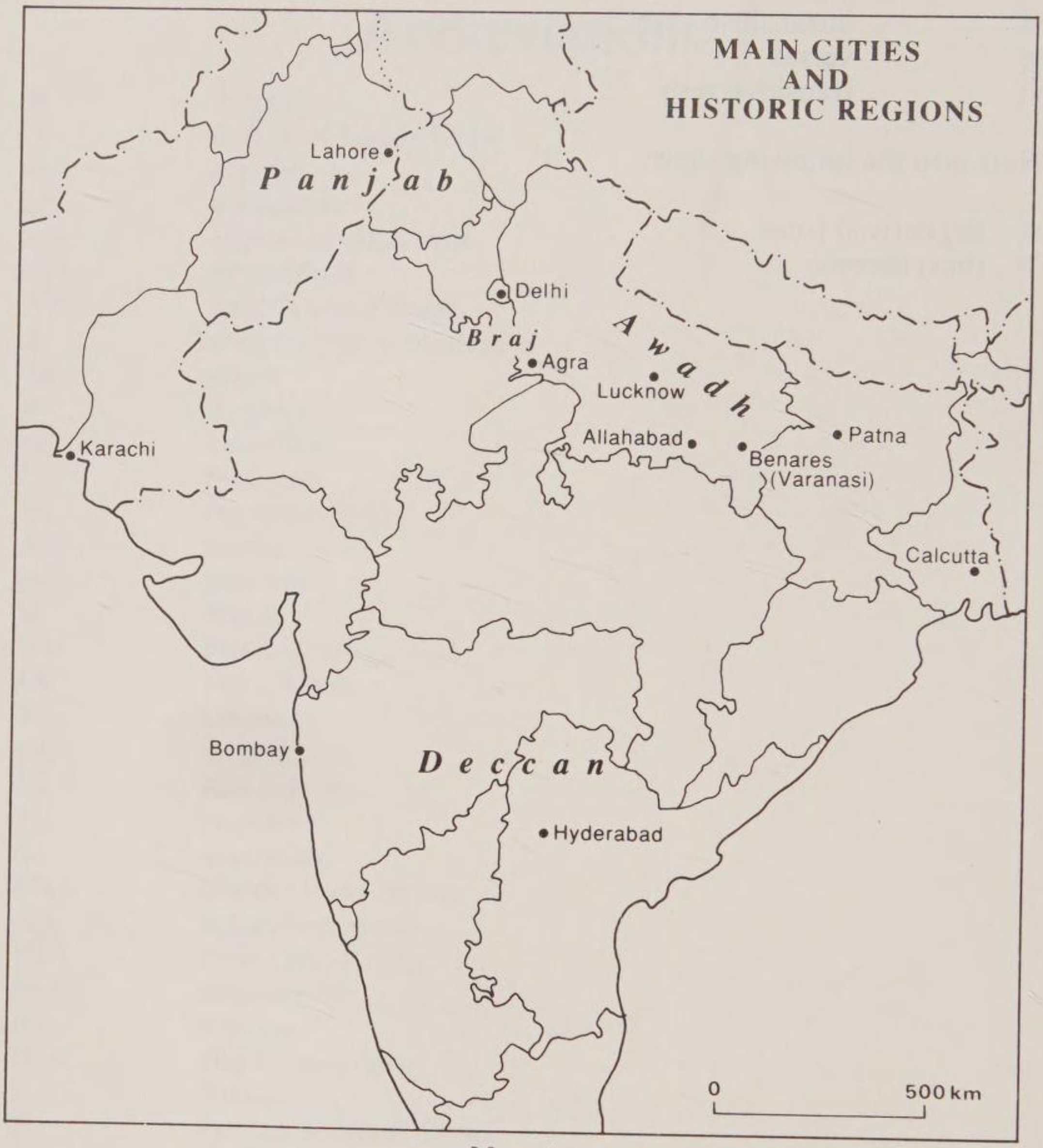
Abbreviations

A	Arabic
A-	Arabic × Hindi-Urdu
abs.	absolutive
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective, adjectival
adv.	adverb(ial)
AP	Arabic and Persian
cj.	conjunction, conjunctive
dir.	direct
E	English
ext.	extended
f.	feminine
fp.	feminine plural
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
H	Hindi
HU	Hindi-Urdu
IA	Indo-Aryan
inf.	infinitive
intj.	interjection
KhB	Khaṛī Bolī
lit.	literally
m.	masculine
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
mp.	masculine plural
NIA	New Indo-Aryan
nom.	nominative
obl.	oblique
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
P	Persian
P-	Persian × Hindi-Urdu
p.	plural
PA	Perso-Arabic
PA-	Perso-Arabic × Hindi-Urdu
ppn.	postposition(al)
pr.	pronoun
pref.	prefix(ed)
prepn.	preposition(al)
pres.	present
ptc.	participle
S	Sanskrit
S-	Sanskrit × Hindi-Urdu
s.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
suf.	suffix(ed)
U	Urdu

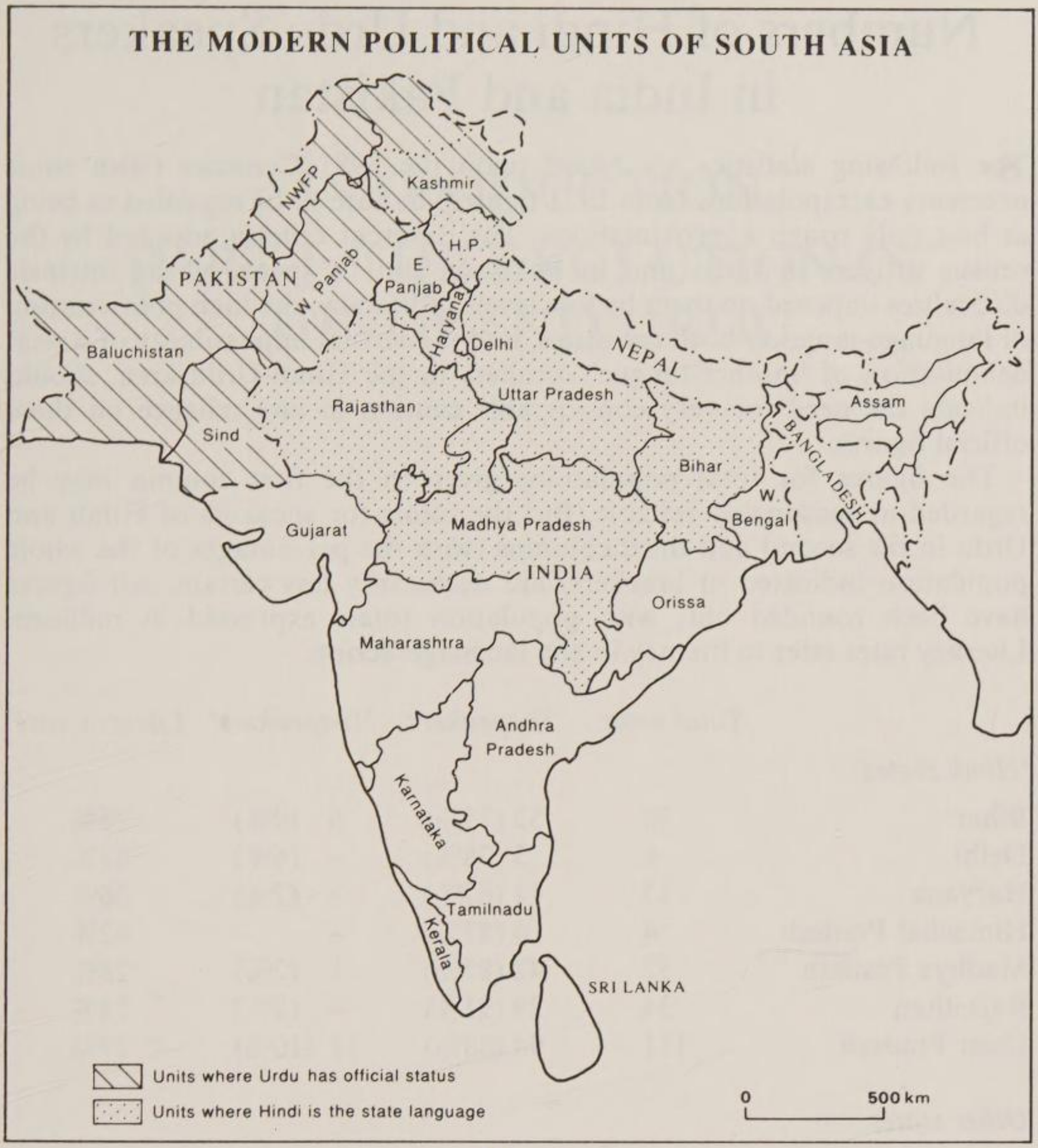
vi.	intransitive verb
vs.	versus
vt.	transitive verb

Note also the following signs:

<	(is) derived from
>	(has) become


MAIN CITIES
AND
HISTORIC REGIONS
Lahore
Panjab
Delhi
Braj
Agra
Awadh
Lucknow
Allahabad
Patna
Benares
(Varanasi)
Calcutta
Karachi
Bombay
Deccan
Hyderabad
0
500 km

Map 1


THE MODERN POLITICAL UNITS OF SOUTH ASIA
NWFP
Kashmir
H.P
PAKISTAN
W. Panjab
E. Panjab
Haryana
Delhi
NEPAL
Baluchistan
Rajasthan
Uttar Pradesh
Assam
BANGLADESH
Sind
Bihar
W. Bengal
Gujarat
Madhya Pradesh
INDIA
Orissa
Maharashtra
Andhra Pradesh
Karnataka
Tamilnadu
Kerala
SRI LANKA
Units where Urdu has official status
Units where Hindi is the state language
0
500 km

Map 2

Numbers of Hindi and Urdu Speakers in India and Pakistan

The following statistics are based upon the 1981 Censuses (with some necessary extrapolations from 1971 figures) but are to be regarded as being at best only rough approximations. The different criteria adopted by the census officers in India and in Pakistan, not to speak of the intrinsic difficulties imposed on them by low levels of literacy, the high politicization of language-issues in both countries, and the virtual impossibility of a neat delimitation of 'mother-tongue' speakers in the Hindi-Urdu area, should indicate the need for very considerable caution in any reliance on these official figures.

The figures for total populations given in the first column may be regarded as reasonably reliable. But the totals for speakers of Hindi and Urdu in the second and third columns (with the percentages of the whole population indicated in brackets) are necessarily less certain. All figures have been rounded out, with population totals expressed in millions. Literacy rates refer to literacy in any language/script.

	Total popn.	*'H-speakers'*	*'U-speakers'*	*Literacy rate*
'Hindi states'				
Bihar	70	52 (75%)	6 (9%)	26%
Delhi	6	5 (78%)	– (6%)	61%
Haryana	13	11 (87%)	– (2%)	36%
Himachal Pradesh	4	4 (87%)	– –	42%
Madhya Pradesh	52	42 (83%)	1 (2%)	28%
Rajasthan	34	29 (91%)	– (2%)	24%
Uttar Pradesh	111	94 (88%)	11 (10%)	27%
Other states				
Andhra Pradesh	54	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	30%
Maharashtra	63	4 (5%)	5 (7%)	47%
Panjab	17	4 (20%)	– –	41%
West Bengal	55	4 (6%)	1 (2%)	41%
INDIA	680	256 (38%)	32 (5%)	36% (male 47%; female 25%)
Baluchistan	4	–	– (1%)	10%
N.W.F.P.	11	–	– (1%)	17%
Panjab	47	–	2 (4%)	27%
Sind	19	–	4 (22%)	31%
PAKISTAN	84	–	6 (8%)	26% (male 35%; female 16%)

INTRODUCTION
PART I: THE EVOLUTION OF HINDI AND URDU

1. The Relationship between Hindi and Urdu

Ever since the establishment of classical philology as a scientific discipline was made possible by the European discovery towards the end of the eighteenth century that Sanskrit was ultimately related to Greek and Latin, it has become natural to see relationships between languages in terms of family trees. Thus Hindi and Urdu can be described as being ultimately descended from Sanskrit, near relatives of such contemporary New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages as Panjabi or Bengali, quite closely related to the next languages of the vast Indo-European family, such as Persian, and still more distantly connected to languages such as English and Portuguese belonging to remoter branches. Such relationships can be objectively demonstrated by reference to shared grammatical structures or to etymologically shared vocabulary, e.g. Hindi-Urdu *māṅ*, Sanskrit *mātṛ*, Persian *mādar*, English *mother*. And at this level, the genealogical image works quite well.

But languages are not simply composed of the bones of grammar and vocabulary, for they live as the creations of human societies and as the instruments of their cultures. The patterns of historical contact and of influences through the borrowing of loan-words, even of syntactic structures, are much less easily fitted into a family-tree framework. So Sanskrit is not simply the etymological ancestor of both Hindi and Urdu, but — through its continuing prestige as the great language of classical Hindu civilization — the chief determinant of the separate identity of Hindi. Similarly, while Persian is quite closely related to that common NIA core of Hindi-Urdu, the spoken lingua franca often called 'Hindustani', it is the historical role of Persian as the great language of Indo-Muslim culture which ensures its continuing role as the major shaper of Urdu, as opposed to Hindi. And while purist adherents of both languages are for once united in their opposition to English as the former colonialist language of the Raj, both are influenced by its huge importance in the post-colonial world.

Committed partisans of either Hindi or Urdu have, of course, no difficulty in extending the genealogical imagery to accommodate such culturally-determined differences. And while Western students are spared the physical dangers that can all too easily be produced by the fierce linguistic chauvinisms of South Asia, they may find it difficult not to be influenced unconsciously by the insidious simplifications which would present Urdu as a bastardized version of Hindi, or alternatively Hindi as some illegitimate offspring of Urdu.

The first part of this introduction attempts to dispel such prejudices by providing a general account of the historical and cultural factors which have led to the bifurcating evolution of the two rival languages. It is above all important to regard them as rivals of equal legitimacy. The simple charms of the shared Hindustani genetic stock may appeal to some: but the identical twins have chosen to dress themselves as differently as possible, and it is hardly helpful to begin with prejudgements as to the relative attractiveness of simple homespun, Persian silk and Indian brocade.

11. The Indo-Aryan context

The history of the easternmost branch of the Indo-European language-family, known as Indo-Aryan (IA), dates back at least three thousand years to the earliest hymns of the Rigveda, the most ancient of the sacred texts of Hinduism. When the natural processes of linguistic change threatened to corrupt the sacred Vedic texts and thereby sap their ritual power, the world's first linguists emerged from the ranks of the Brahmins to codify and thereby artificially preserve their language. This process reached its culmination in the grammar of Panini (c. 4thc. B.C.), which fixed Old Indo-Aryan in the stage of 'Classical Sanskrit'.

The elevated status which Classical Sanskrit continued to enjoy in India over the last two and a half millenia has subsequently derived more from its function as the vehicle of the overlapping entities of high Hindu culture and religion than from its spoken use (although there has always been a minority of learned pandits throughout India who can and do converse in the classical tongue). Thus while the language called *saṅskṛta* or 'refined' continued to serve as the language of literature, so-called *prākṛta* or 'natural' speech developed as the medium of conversation. But the subsequent evolution of the IA languages has always been powerfully governed by the huge prestige of Sanskrit to their Hindu speakers, not to speak of its long use as a learned medium for the elite classes of all parts of the subcontinent. The very factors which maintained Sanskrit as the predominant language of Hindu culture encouraged the use of the grammatically simpler Middle IA languages (MIA) by the various non-Brahminical religions: thus Buddhism adopted Pali as its sacred language, and the later Prakrits were used for the scriptures of the Jain faith. The linguistic changes entailed by the passage of time eventually made these languages almost as distinct from everyday speech as Sanskrit.

By about A.D. 1000 the various languages of the NIA group — Panjabi, Hindi, Bengali, etc. — had effectively emerged out of their MIA parents, although the characteristic Indian preference for using highflown and archaic language for literary records entails a paucity of direct evidence for them at this early stage of their existence, and their reconstruction must depend largely upon deduction from the more richly preserved writings of later centuries. In the task of such reconstruction, it is always essential to bear in mind the continuing influence of earlier stages of IA. Alongside the naturally evolved vocabulary of so-called '*tadbhava*' words, there has always been a continued role for their etymological ancestors from Sanskrit or Prakrit, collectively known as '*tatsama*'. Such a common word as Hindi-Urdu *log*, for instance, looks as if it must be a *tadbhava* representing the last possible stage of evolution from Sanskrit *loka*, since it is obviously not one of those '*desī*' words like *ṭabbar* 'family' for which there is no Sanskrit etymon. In fact, it represents the MIA stage of Sanskrit *loka* > Prakrit *loga* > (Old) Hindi *loa*, and is really a sort of *tatsama*. So, in looking at the etymology of Hindi-Urdu words, it is always as well to consult the best etymological dicionary (Turner 1966) rather than out-dated guides such as Platts 1884 and its numerous living descendants in both Hindi and Urdu monolingual dictionaries.

This palimpsest pattern applies to vocabulary rather than to grammar, where the natural laws of change over time have proved more effective. Such formidable items of Sanskrit paradigms as the dual number, and the elaborate system of verbal conjugation had been largely simplified before NIA came onto the scene: and an even more deep-seated change is that from a 'synthetic' to an 'analytic' syntax, i.e. from one in which syntactic relationships are expressed through a fully inflexional system to one in which case is shown by the use of independent words such as postpositions, or tense and mood by the use of auxiliary verbs.

12. The Impact of Muslim Rule

While a fairly long interval elapsed between the conquest of the Panjab by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (d. 1030) and the Muslim capture of Delhi in 1192, the vast subsequent expansion of Muslim rule both eastwards to Bengal and southwards into the Deccan was rapidly effected. From the fourteenth century Muslim rulers controlled most of India, apart from such isolated areas as Rajasthan and the extreme South. Although the Delhi Sultanate later dissolved into a number of regional kingdoms, central authority was soon re-established by the Great Mughals (1526–1707): and the long period of Muslim rule was ended only in the eighteenth century by the triple impact of fresh invasions from Afghanistan, internal revolt by the Hindu Marathas, and the ultimately successful expansion of British power. This centuries-long Muslim political dominance naturally had profound effects on the cultural evolution of South Asia, as is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the use of language.

The rapid initial expansion of Islam in the seventh century brought Arabic as the sacred language of the Quran to all the vast territories of the Caliphate, but as a spoken language only to the Middle East and North Africa. In the eastern lands of Iran and Central Asia, Persian continued to be spoken and soon evolved as a literary language also. This classical Persian, the most prominent representative of the Iranian languages which are quite closely related to IA, retained its Indo-European structure and basic vocabulary, but incorporated a huge number of loan-words from Arabic — a Semitic language quite unrelated to Indo-European — and was written in the Arabic script. Although many of the invading warlords and their followers had some form of Turkish as their mother-tongue, it was this Arabicized Persian (in which Turkish elements amount to only a few loan-words) that they brought to India as their principal cultural language.

While some knowledge of Arabic was always expected of all educated Muslims, and those who wished to join the clerical establishment of the maulvis had to study it thoroughly, it was Persian which came to form the main medium and the central component of Indo-Muslim education. Not only was the most lavish patronage of kings and emperors reserved for Persian poetry, but administration was also conducted in Persian. The elementary mosque-schools (*maktab*) run by the maulvis consequently appealed not only to Muslims but also to the many Hindus who sought a place in the bureaucracy: some Hindu castes, notably the Kayasths, indeed developed a sound knowledge of Persian as the cornerstone of their professional skills as scribes, clerks and administrators. As a natural

consequence the rival elementary schools (*pāṭhśālā*) run by the pandits came to have primarily a religious significance only, with Sanskrit being relegated to the narrower sphere of Hindu concerns.

As always in South Asia, however, few people used the same language for both writing and speaking. Although Persian is historically quite close to the IA languages, it is hardly mutually intelligible with them, and some form of lingua franca mixing Persian with Old Panjabi must have emerged soon after the permanent Muslim conquest of the Panjab in the eleventh century. Although Persian continued to be reinforced for many centuries by fresh immigrations of native speakers, their numbers even among the Muslim minority were soon much smaller than those of Indian converts. With the capture of Delhi, it was the local Khaṛī Bolī (KhB) or 'Upright speech' of the city and the adjacent area which came to form the local element, together with considerable numbers of Persian loan-words, in the lingua franca of the Muslim empires which was eventually to give rise to modern Hindi and Urdu.

13. Medieval Hindi

With their culturally conditioned indifference to most things Indian, the Muslims in their Persian writings casually referred to this spoken language in the same way as most other IA languages they came across in such vague terms as *hindī* 'Indian language' or *hinduī* 'Hindu language'. The modern perception of the medieval cultivation of Hindi (still known by its Persian name) is quite as generalizing and quite as misleading.

As the result of politico-linguistic developments in the modern period, the 'Hindi area' is now considered to extend across North India from Rajasthan to Bihar. Since the KhB dialect of the Delhi area which forms the basis of modern Hindi was hardly cultivated as a written language during the medieval period, historical justification has been effected by using the name 'Medieval Hindi' as a somewhat misleading umbrella term to cover the wide diversity of regional languages — now regarded as mere dialects of Hindi — which were so cultivated.

At the western extreme, medieval Rajasthani is richly preserved in a literature which concentrates upon courtly, martial and romantic subjects, produced largely by the hereditary bards attached to the Rajput courts. At the other end of the area, in the Avadh ('Oudh') region around Lucknow, the patronage of local Muslim rulers encouraged the development of a major tradition of Sufi verse in the Avadhi dialect of Eastern Hindi. The geographical location of the Rama myth in Avadh made Avadhi peculiarly appropriate also for the version of the Ramayan epic by the sixteenth century poet Tulsidas, which is still regarded as forming the crowning glory of the whole of Hindi literature.

The prime style of literary Hindi from the late fifteenth century onwards is, however, based on the Western Hindi dialect of Braj Bhāṣā. This derived its inspiration from the association of the Braj area, to the south-east of Delhi, with the childhood of Krishna. A proliferation in the sixteenth century of sectarian Krishnaite poets, of whom the most famous is the semi-legendary Surdas, laid the foundation for a more generalized use of Braj for a wide range of literary and semi-literary genres over much

of North India. This development was encouraged not only by the sacred association with Krishna, but also by the location of the Mughal capital of Agra in the Braj area: courtly patronage thus came to be added to religious devotion. Until the closing decades of the nineteenth century, it was in fact Braj and not the neighbouring KhB which was meant by the designation 'Hindi' in the perception of most Hindus, and the erroneous theory that Urdu is somehow the product of a mixture of Persian with Braj — a theory still to be encountered in Muslim accounts of Urdu — continues to reflect the dialect's past domination of the Hindi scene.

14. Classical Urdu

The Muslims of North India were as indifferent as the Hindus to the cultivation of KhB in the medieval period. Although there are notable Muslim contributions to e.g. Avadhi, Braj or Panjabi poetry, the vast bulk of medieval Indo-Muslim literature is written in Persian.

By another of those paradoxical developments in which the history of Hindi-Urdu so abounds, the first substantial tradition of writing in Urdu was founded not in the North but in the Deccan, where the lingua franca of Delhi had been introduced into the quite alien linguistic territory of Telugu and the other Dravidian languages by the Muslim invasions of the thirteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Deccan was divided among several powerful Muslim kingdoms, and the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda (modern Hyderabad) in particular were notable poets and patrons not only of Persian but also of the archaic local variety of Urdu known as Dakanī. Motivated in part doubtless by a wish to assert their separate identity from the Mughal empire which was to absorb them by 1687, these courts produced considerable quantities of Dakanī verse, although their archaic language effectively separates them from the mainstream of classical Urdu.

This literary tradition was established as the double consequence of the conquest of the Deccan kingdoms by Aurangzeb (d. 1707) and the collapse of stable central authority which ensued so rapidly after his death. The migration of poets from the Deccan introduced the jaded Persian poets of the capital to the charms of vernacular poetry more or less at the point when the chaos wreaked by fresh invaders from Afghanistan called into question the attractiveness of Persian as the sole cultural medium of Indian Islam. Although detailed developments are necessarily obscured by the political turmoil of the mid-eighteenth century, it is quite clear that Urdu, suitably refined to meet the cultivated norms of the Delhi literati, soon replaced Persian as the preferred poetic vehicle of the Muslim elite. Their Persianized standard was to survive the enforced migration of many of their number to such safer havens as that carved out for themselves in Avadh by the Navvab-Vazirs who ruled from Lucknow; it was also to determine directly the subsequent elevation of Urdu, and indirectly to govern the contrary development of modern Hindi as its more successful rival.

Although such classic masters of early Urdu poetry as Mir (d. 1810) continued to favour Persian for their prose works, the gradual shift from Persian to Urdu was soon to gather an unstoppable momentum. It took

rather longer for Urdu to gather its modern name. Until well into the nineteenth century, the old Persian labels of *hindī*, etc., were supplemented by a vogue for the Persian designation *rextâ* 'Mixed language'. Eventually, however, it was apparently the splendidly mixed title of the cantonment area of Mughal Delhi, known as *Urdū-e mu'allā* 'The Exalted Camp' — combining the Turkish loan *urdū* (meaning 'camp' and cognate with English 'horde'), the Persian izafat-construction *-e*, and the Arabic adjective *mu'allā* — which by abbreviation gave the language the name by which it has come to be known.

2. The British Raj

In the narrow terms which used to be set by colonial historians, the British supremacy over South Asia was established as the successful result of a long process of infighting, largely at sea, between the expansionist countries of western Europe. From the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese had been the most successful of these, and their historic role as the first militant missionaries of Christianity lives on in such entrenched Hindi-Urdu loans as *padre* > *pādrī* 'priest' and *egreja* > *girjā* 'church'.

As a result of the military victories won by Clive at Plassey in 1757 and by Munro at Buxar in 1764, it was, however, the British who were to dominate the political evolution of South Asia until Independence in 1947. Although the British rulers were at first unwilling and later unable to establish their local cultural presence in terms of large-scale conversions matching those achieved for Islam by their Muslim predecessors, their impact upon the linguistic evolution of Hindi-Urdu was to prove even greater. In this process, the immediate input from the superior military technology and the confidence which it engendered in the early colonialists was soon to be overshadowed in a complex fashion by the *mission civilatrice* of Victorian England and the subsequent emergence of English as the premier world language, first from Britain and later from America. Although English is identified as the language of colonialism in India and Pakistan, the powerfully imposed heritage has become quite as difficult to escape for both Hindi and Urdu protagonists as the separate inheritances of Sanskrit and Persian with which each are so much more at home. In their differential preferences, the shadows of imperial 'divide and rule' of course continue to flicker: and it is therefore worth tracing in some detail the triple process of increasingly polarized reactions between the dominant imperial power, Muslim protagonists of Urdu and Hindu protagonists of Hindi.

21. The Impact of British Rule

The Muslims were only the last in a succession of invaders of South Asia through the passes allowing access on its north-western frontier. The long-mounted process of European naval assaults on the coasts of the subcontinent brought substantial territorial reward only when the British were able, as a result of internal dissension, to capture the soft underbelly of Bengal, where they established their capital until 1912 at Calcutta. Historically, this was quite the wrong position from which to conquer the

subcontinent's heartland in the Doab between the Yamuna and the Ganga from which South Asia has always been dominated. But the westwards move, through Plassey rather than through Panipat, which was thus enforced upon the expansion of British sovereignty, did much to determine the ways in which Hindi and Urdu would evolve.

The realms opened to the East India Company by Clive's initial victory, which included most of modern Bihar and Orissa as well as Bengal, were both conveniently masked by the Company's assumption of the role of *dīvānī* to the notional authority of the Mughal emperor, and practically by the use of Persian to administer its new territories. The progressive extension of British control over North India until the nineteenth century continued to exist under this convenient fiction, through which Company servants would administer their Indian subjects under Mughal rules in Persian. The handover of cultural supremacy from Persian to English was therefore extraordinarily long drawn-out.

While the process has, with some justification, come to be seen by Hindu nationalists as a rather cosy deal between the British and their Muslim predecessors (whose total subjugation by the Hindu majority of North India was in the interests of neither party), the truth of the matter is somewhat more complex. The British began by drafting their new laws in English, while continuing to require the Company's servants to administer them to its Bengali-speaking subjects in Persian. The implicit awkwardness of this situation eventually led to the establishment of Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 as an academy designed to impart some knowledge of Indian languages to young British officials, and several of the simple adaptations and translations devised as textbooks for the new College achieved a certain fame, particularly in the already half-developed medium of Urdu prose (**1**).

The internal switch from Persian to Urdu within the Muslim community, now increasingly subjugated to the direct impact of British rule, was somewhat lurchingly realized in prose, as opposed to poetry. The eccentric litterateur Insha (d. 1818) played with KhB sans its Persian loans to produce one of the first pieces of sustained Hindi prose (**2**). But this is something of a sport, and the real evolution first of Urdu, then of Hindi as the major literary languages of the old heartlands of North India was determined by the less whimsical factors of the deliberate cultural self-determination of its Muslim and Hindu inhabitants and the uncertainly applied patronage of their English-speaking rulers.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the triple operation of these very divergent forces was to lead first towards the encouragement of Urdu as a sophisticated medium for all types of prose writing, and more gradually towards the evolution of a KhB-based Sanskritized Hindi written in the Nagari script. The new style of Hindi captured the sympathies of the then under-privileged Hindu majority and came to challenge the supremacy of the medieval Braj tradition in the literary field; its relationship to Urdu became increasingly one of rivalry, and eventually the naked opposition between the causes of Hindi and Urdu was to become an important factor in the communal conflict which led to the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947.

22. The Heyday of Urdu

Urdu seemed for a variety of reasons to have everything going for it from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century: because it was becoming increasing congenial to the Muslims, for whom its debt to the classical past compensated for their own increasing remoteness from the Persian heritage; because the British, who called it 'Hindustani', seized upon it as a convenient medium for the administration of the territories which fell under their control during their westwards progress from Bihar through present U.P. until their eventual conquest of the Panjab in 1849; and because the specialist Hindu castes who had acted as record-keepers for their erstwhile Muslim political masters were ready to cooperate in the shift from Persian to English and to Urdu at the higher and lower levels respectively of the administration demanded by their new political masters.

Within the North Indian Urdu-speaking Muslim community itself, long dominant in the towns and cities of their historic heartlands in U.P. and Bihar, there was never any question as to natural linguistic allegiance. Further reinforced by the cautious British allowance of at least notional rule by the Kings of Avadh in Lucknow until 1856 and the nominal survival of the Mughal emperors in Delhi until the suppression of the Mutiny in 1858, the Muslim elite turned with enthusiasm to the cultivation of Urdu as a worthy classical successor to Persian poetry. Standards of correct usage were elaborately defined, with a nice sense of the difference between Delhi and Lucknow norms; and these were gradually transferred to prose usage also, as Urdu finally came to replace Persian during the early nineteenth century as the natural medium of expression for Indian Muslims. Stylistically, this internal process achieves its apogee in the letters written by Ghalib (d. 1869), the greatest of classical Urdu poets and one of the last who was equally at home in Persian (**3**).

At a sub-literary level, the great debate among Indian Muslims induced by their palpable loss to the British of political control of their destinies and by their increasingly-feared domination by the numerically superior Hindus who had once been their subjects equally came to be conducted in a more down-to-earth variety of Urdu. One of the bluntest pamphleteers was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898), scion of a family with long traditions of service to the Mughals, whose enthusiasm for his co-religionists' espousing of the British cause came to be matched only by his suspicion of the claims for increased imperial recognition of Hindi being voiced by some of his Hindu fellow-countrymen (**4**).

While Sir Sayyid lived, however, Urdu continued to enjoy the security of British patronage across North India as the official language of Bihar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Panjab, not to speak of the more traditional patronage it continued to receive in the Deccan from the Nizams of Hyderabad, the premier native princes of British India allowed theoretically absolute responsibility for the rule of a state about the size of France. Nevertheless, from the late nineteenth century, the linguistic rivalry between Urdu and its increasingly promoted rival Hindi within the terms set by English-speaking rulers became increasingly intense.

Although increasingly hampered by their historically privileged status as an urban minority in North India, the Urdu-speaking Muslims were still

able to field many competent champions. Not the least of these were disciples of Sir Sayyid's such as the poet Hali (d. 1914), whose own prescriptions for the development of Urdu attempted to steer his co-religionists away from the ever more sterile debate between the differential niceties of Delhi and Lucknow usage in favour of a more generous appreciation of the common-or-garden 'Hindi' element in their language (**6**).

Even though the demands of an increasingly articulate Hindu middle class induced the British gradually to abrogate Urdu's privileged status first in Bihar (1881) and then partially in the U.P. (1900), they too continued to favour 'Hindustani' (i.e. simplified Urdu) as the language into which government recruits fresh from England were immediately pitched. The great dictionary of Platts (1884) is an early reflection of this preference, which continues to be illustrated in the bias of many later text-books, produced under highly-skilled British patronage with an ensured sale to hopeful candidates from the Indian Services until 1947 (**9**).

This odd kind of British Army Urdu, though so useful for issuing orders to recruits (*rangrūṭ*) at the level of 'shoulder arms *karo!*', and so bewitching to Kipling and his imitators, bears little relation to the typical output of Urdu prose writers. The evident threat posed by the official recognition of Hindi as a provincial language of equal status with Urdu in the U.P. is reflected in the obsessions of much early twentieth century writing. By yet another of those famous paradoxes, some self-statements by Urdu writers date from the time when their language was soon to succumb in the face of the inexorable advance of Hindi.

Perhaps the best advised were those who looked to the codification of Urdu, such as the long-lived grammarian and lexicographer Abdul Haq (**10**). But it is hard not to feel a greater sympathy with those who recorded their admiration of the former previous culture of Lucknow, as did Sharar (**11**); and if his rebarbatively Persianized style is sufficient to repel, adequate recompense may be found in the reminiscences of Old Delhi conjured up by Farhatullah Beg (**13**), whose wizard style illustrates how the KhB dialect adapts equally well to Urdu as it does to Hindi norms.

It is, however, significant that all these writers were at some stage impelled to move south to seek the safe patronage of the Nizams of Hyderabad. Sharar's stay there was admittedly short and stormy: but Abdul Haq's reputation as the *Bābā-e urdū* owed much to his appointment as Professor of Urdu in the Nizam's Osmania University, while Farhatullah Beg's elegant evocations of old Delhi might hardly have been produced were it not for his advancement through the state's judicial hierarchy.

In its casually unjust fashion, British India allowed for all sorts of such processes of cultural advancement. But the demographic realities of relative communal numbers were eventually to ensure that the crucial heartlands of North India would pass from cultural domination by their historic Muslim elite into the hands of a middle-class majority made ever more aware of their Hindu heritage.

23. The Rise of Modern Hindi

As the last decades of the nineteenth century passed by, the position of Hindi stood in stark contrast to that of Urdu, and increasingly the two languages began to perceive each other as rivals in an arena in which political and communal issues were growing inexorably in importance. Various impediments stood in the way of Hindi; one of the most insuperable was the disjunction between the new KhB style — increasingly being promoted as the basis for literature as well as practical usage — and the Braj Bhāṣā tradition which had served for so long as the literary language of the Hindi area. Whereas Urdu had enjoyed an unbroken sequence of literary development with KhB as its foundation, and was well equipped to exploit as literary copy the sweetly sorrowful nostalgia which accompanied the social changes of the times (**11**), Hindi was having to undergo the painful process of a switch from one dialect to another. The incipient development of a journalistic prose style was achieved without great difficulty on English models (**5**), but the delayed birth of a new basis for Hindi poetry was an altogether more fraught experience, calling for the expert attentions of literary midwives such as Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (d. 1938) (**12**).

In the area of education and administration Hindi endured a number of setbacks in the nineteenth century. In 1835 the Government had committed itself to the propagation of Western culture through English-medium education at the expense of Indian vernaculars, and to the use of English in the higher courts; then two years later it was Urdu, not Hindi, which succeeded Persian as the administrative language of the North-Western Provinces. While such changes were often academic insofar as they did little to make official procedures more comprehensible to the lay populace (7), they underline the fact that despite the slow but steady progress being made in the rarefied world of Hindi litterateurs there was still no widely accepted modern style of Hindi which could be promoted to perform the essential administrative functions of government.

Backing for Hindi came from unofficial quarters, broadly to be categorized as literary and reformist. The writers and educationalists comprising the first category propagated Hindi in a spirit which gloried in the Sanskritic Hindu tradition; but at the same time they often had a catholic and non-communal approach underpinned by the educational norms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which literacy in Persian was still an accepted part of schooling for middle-class Hindu boys (**19**). In the second category came the parallel but opposite forces of Christian proselytism and reformist Hinduism, notably the Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda. The example of Bengali, which had been in contact with British influences for much longer because of the British presence in Calcutta, did much to encourage the proponents of Hindi both in terms of the potential for the development of a viable communal vernacular and in terms of suggesting directions for the fledgling literature. But perhaps inevitably the Hindi movement's own fulcrum came to be located in Benares and Allahabad, the twin bases of Hindu power in Northern India, from where the majority of future Hindi writers were to emerge: a geographical dimension was thus given to the rift dividing Hindi

from Urdu, which had its traditional bases in Delhi and Lucknow.

The rivalry between Hindi and Urdu hinged on its most obvious and graphic manifestation, that of script. This had been much less of an issue in earlier periods of the development of Hindi, since the old genres of literature had largely been transmitted orally — as was appropriate in a population whose cultural life was not based solely or even primarily upon literacy. The new Hindi was uncompromisingly that of the literate classes, a tiny minority in the Hindi-speaking area but one in whose hands lay all the potential for employment in the middle-class professions. As the beginnings of a national consciousness spread across India from Bengal in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the growing middle-class readership of Hindi responded with enthusiasm to the increased availability of a widening variety of Hindi publications. The All-India National Congress had been founded in 1885, and its more extremist leading edge began to inculcate the 'swadeshi' ideal which emphasized the importance to national unity of promoting home-grown products and boycotting imports. India's discovery of its own glorious past, emboldened by the enthusiastic researches of Western Indologists (**24**), aided the recovery of national self-confidence and the development of this consciousness of national unity. Language was a natural subject for the swadeshi principle, and there was a growing awareness of the inappropriateness of the dependence on English as the medium of administration and high culture. At the same time, exposure to English literature and writing offered an alluring demonstration of the potential lying untapped in the new style of Hindi prose. Against this background the first experiments in creative writing were made, faltering steps in imitation of English or Bengali models but real Hindi literature nonetheless. By the end of the century the ground-rules for a Sanskritized style of Hindi prose were well established, and while literacy in Urdu had once been the norm amongst educated Hindi-speakers, a continuing tradition of education in Urdu alongside Hindi (**21**) and Sanskrit (**20**) held off the day when literacy in Urdu was to be equated more and more narrowly with membership of the Muslim community.

Pride in the ancient glories of India yielded to more politically-orientated expressions of nationalistic thought in the output of poets and prose-writers alike, and an expanding circle of Hindi writers took up these themes, encouraged by the new demand for literature reflecting the aspirations of nationhood. Real power, of course, continued to lie in the hands of the English-speaking administrators, both English and Indian; and the swadeshi insistence on the use of Indian vernaculars and its concomitant rejection of English was at least partly a symbolic gesture, like the burning of Lancashire-milled cotton in favour of the domestic product dubbed by Nehru 'the livery of our freedom'.

3. Before and After Independence

The language question in the decades leading up to Independence was dominated by the issues of the broader nationalist debate, in which the confrontation beween the Indians and the British was accompanied by communal rivalries between Hindu and Muslim. Although all nationalist parties were agreed on the desirability of replacing English after Independence, much energy was consequently devoted during the 1930s and 1940s to arguing the respective merits of Hindi, Urdu, and the compromise Hindustani as its natural successor.

In the event, there were to be no absolute winners on either side of the new frontiers established by the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. English, though formally demoted in status, has continued to be the natural language of the elite in both countries. Hindi, although greatly encouraged by its post-independence promotion as the national language of India and cementing its hold in the states of the North, has yet to achieve the total supremacy envisaged for it by its most committed proponents. Urdu, while gaining new status in Pakistan, found its position *vis-à-vis* Hindi much weakened in India. And while Hindustani has received no official patronage, it actually continues to command the greatest popularity of all, as the de facto language of the mass media. The fact that the influence of the language of a Bombay blockbuster movie can easily outweigh and undo that exerted by the innumerable agencies set up to promote the higher registers of Hindi in India or Urdu in Pakistan needs to be borne in mind when reading the following account of linguistic politics over the past decades; also to be remembered is the ironic reality that the question of script, while necessarily central to the question of language in the Hindi-Urdu context, does not actually touch the illiterate majority of the speakers of the two languages.

31. The Urdu-Hindi-Hindustani Debate

By the time that the All-India National Congress was finally transformed into a genuine mass movement under Gandhi's leadership after the First World War, the Hindi cause was sufficiently developed and the language had achieved sufficient official recognition in the populous provinces of U.P. and Bihar to make it an increasingly serious rival to Urdu. For a while, the Congress commanded wide support across the communal divide, aided in part by the fact that the nationalist leadership was itself often more at home in English than in any Indian language: Nehru and Jinnah are the outstanding examples of such Anglicized nationalists. For such men, the adoption of Hindustani in 1925 as the language of Congress, however politically desirable, must have felt as unfamiliar as the donning of the homespun cotton cloth which Gandhi introduced as the Congress uniform. Nor must it be forgotten that, even after Jinnah's assumption of the leadership of the Muslim League in 1935 and his increasingly successful promotion of it as the major party of the Muslims, there were always Muslims in the Congress leadership, many of whom, such as Abul Kalam Azad (**14**), were rewarded with senior positions after 1947.

Nevertheless, the two extremes of the political spectrum came to be dominated more and more by the Hindu demand for Hindi as the national language, matched by the Muslim demand for the separate retention of Urdu, each community seeing in its language the quintessence of its cultural identity — not to speak of a continuing practical usefulness in the case of Urdu. At this stage, it is important to remember, the possibility of Partition had not arisen, and it was the choice of an indigenous all-India language to replace English that was at issue.

Gandhi, himself a native-speaker of Gujarati educated in English, was insistent that the answer to the language problem lay in a compromise between Hindu and Muslim interests. His advocacy of a middle-of-the-road Hindustani seems at first glance to have been eminently reasonable, as it exploited the already widely current lingua franca without offering offence to either side. It certainly appealed to such influential Gandhians as the author Premchand (d. 1936), the Hindu Kayasth who was the only writer to have achieved an equally great reputation in both languages — first in Urdu and then in Hindi (**15**). But in fact Gandhi's Hindustani was culturally neither fish nor fowl but a compromise whose political usefulness depended on its convenience as a rallying-cry in the fight against the imperialism of the British and their language: it offered no offence but at the same time invited no committed enthusiasm from any substantial section of the population. Most important of all, the question of script was entirely begged by the Hindustani camp: Gandhi's bland assumption that ultimate acceptance of Nagari would present no real problem to the Muslim minority seems in retrospect to have been hopelessly naive.

By the 1940s, as the political divide between Hindus and Muslims became even deeper, Gandhi's Hindustani was already coming to be seen as a non-starter. Hindi-promoting organizations which had previously felt constrained to give the compromise language some support under Gandhi's lead now abandoned even this lip-service (**16**). And even the Communists, whose expressly non-communal concern with the Indian masses provided the Marxist inspiration behind the Progressive movement that then dominated both Hindi and Urdu literature, were able to suggest only that Hindi and Urdu should be given equal recognition (**18**).

In retrospect, much of the Urdu-Hindi-Hindustani debate may seem largely academic. But, although overtaken in the real world by the traumatic events and consequences of the Partition of 1947, the arguments then advanced can still prove illuminating in considering the tangled relationship of the twins. Perhaps they might have lived as Siamese twins after all: but the surgery effected by the abrupt departure of the British was to ensure that they would develop quite separately.

32. Hindi in India

Doubts about the appropriateness of introducing Sanskritized Hindi as the national language continued to be voiced after Independence, notably by Nehru, the Anglicized scion of a distinguished family of Kashmiri Pandits — a group who share with the Kayasths a cross-communal combination of Hindu religion with Persian culture. The draft Constitution of 1948 left the issue unresolved, and the debate rumbled on inside and outside Parliament

for another year, with the old question of script and in particular the choice between Nagari and Arabic numerals proving to be sticking-points. The Constitution finally provided that Hindi in the Nagari script (but favouring Arabic numerals) was to be the official language of the Union, but also that English would continue to be used for official purposes for fifteen years, Hindi being used in parallel in certain circumstances. As a precaution, the possibility of English being used beyond the fifteen-year period was also allowed for.

Thus for the first time in its history, Hindi had been promoted to the status of national language: but both intrinsic linguistic factors and the wider political issues inevitable in such a linguistically diverse federal state as the Republic of India have inhibited a full assumption of that role. Intrinsically, although ever more careful guidelines for the correct usage of Hindi have been prescribed (**17**), the translation into Hindi of English-language statutes and official papers demanded the coining of tens of thousands of neologisms in the areas of technical and administrative vocabulary: but although a copious supply of words, largely drawn from the inexhaustible resources of the Sanskrit lexicon, have been readily provided by official bodies, it has proved less easy to induce their effective currency.

Modern Sanskritized Hindi, as promulgated by Central government, thus continues to reflect the artificiality which imbued its idealistic creation in the nineteenth century. Although there can be no doubt that it has — at least in its less rebarbatively Sanskritized forms — gradually achieved a much wider level of acceptance in the four decades since Independence, it has yet finally to overcome its traditional rivals, whether English or Urdu: and the very strength of its official promotion has encouraged a backlash effect from speakers of other Indian languages (particularly in the South, where opposition to the imposition of Hindi has been at its most virulent), who feel their interests to be threatened. It can be of little surprise that decades of official propagation of Hindi have seen only partial success, for real changes in language use cannot be achieved through the training of stenographers or the passing of recommendations as to office procedure. The real power for bringing about changes in language use lies with the mass media, especially the cinema, whose colossal influence either on the big screen or nowadays through video encourages the continued use of a natural and honest mixture of linguistic registers, thereby helping to preserve the centuries-old status quo of an eclectic Hindustani. The 'Hindi' film owes just as much to Urdu as it does to Hindi in its dialogue and songs, and many of its greatest stars come from backgrounds which reflect this mixture (**21**).

Moreover, at the national level, Hindi continues to have to assume a somewhat subordinate role in relation to English. The dominance of English in the public sector, enshrined in the Official Languages Act of 1963, derives from its triple status as the major contemporary language of world communication, its continuing attractiveness to the Indian elite (whose education at the Doon School and similar establishments involves only fairly elementary competence in Hindi) and its convenience as a language shared, however thinly, by all parts of the country while

belonging to no part of it in particular. Six northern states (U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh) and the Union Territory of Delhi have Hindi as their official language: and the obvious advantages to be derived from this head start in the competition for government jobs if Hindi were to be made the exclusive central language of India have always been apparent to the often more prosperous citizens of the peripheral states. English therefore continues to be a symbol of their security as equal citizens. India is at present governed by the so-called 'three-language formula', which recommends teaching at secondary level in (a) Hindi, (b) a regional language (preferably a Dravidian one if the regional language is itself Hindi), and (c) English. But this largely remains an abstract ideal, with most states having adapted the formula to their own ends.

Nevertheless, at the crucial state level which controls the education system and consequently the basic language of literacy (even if this remains well below 50%), Hindi has secured a powerful success in its own bloc, and the production of ever-greater numbers of Hindi-educated secondary school graduates is matched by the success with which modern Hindi is seen to be the natural heir of such intrinsically diverse forms of NIA as Braj, Avadhi and Rajasthani, whose once proud status as major literary languages in their own right has now been reduced to that of 'dialects' of Hindi.

The often poisonous heritage of the intimate association between communal politics and language in India has, however, ensured the rival survival of languages often far more closely related to modern Hindi than such NIA variants as those just mentioned. In their truncated Panjab, the Sikhs have secured the establishment of Panjabi as a language quite separate from Hindi. And while the depletion of Muslim influence entailed by the migrations which followed from Partition has destroyed the former power-base of Urdu-speakers in the cities and towns of U.P. and Bihar, the recognition officially accorded to Urdu as an official language of India by the Constitution continues to assure its role as a focus of loyalty for the country's largest religious minority.

33. Urdu in India and Pakistan

The ferocious communal violence of 1947, which led to such tragic losses of life and homes for all the major religious communities of what was formerly northern India, resulted in the effective destruction of the Urdu-speaking Muslim middle-class of U.P. and Bihar as a major political force. Many chose or were forced to emigrate either to West or to East Pakistan, and those who remained have been compelled to come to terms with their destiny as citizens of Indian states in which the long-fought struggle between Hindi and Urdu has resulted in the former's conclusive triumph. Of course, both in these states and in other outliers of the formerly Muslim-dominated urban realm, notably the city of Hyderabad and its environs in the former domain of the Nizams, now the capital of the Telugu-speaking state of Andhra Pradesh, Muslim institutions continue to thrive and Urdu continues to be cultivated. But the security which derived from past imperial privileges is irrevocably lost, and even the Urdu of the

younger generation has more than a touch of the Sanskritic influence of their Hindi schooling in terms of natural choice of vocabulary. Somewhat bizarrely, Urdu survives as a state language only in Kashmir. The still-contested legitimacy of Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union, which has so bedevilled subsequent relations between India and Pakistan, has served to preserve Urdu in India as the official language of the only state with a Muslim majority, even if most of them speak Kashmiri, an IA language about as remote from the norms of Hindi-Urdu as it would be possible to conceive.

In Pakistan, by contrast, the cause of Urdu — further fuelled by the emigration of so many Urdu-speakers to the new Islamic homeland — found the most enthusiastic initial welcome. But this keenness to make Urdu the national language of the new country in the same way as Hindus in India were attempting to replace English with Hindi soon foundered on the linguistic realities so conveniently removed from the hurriedly drafted terms of the Radcliffe Commission, which was appointed to draw the Partition line exclusively on the basis of communal majorities, district by district. Quite as proud of their premier Bengali culture as their Hindu cousins across the border in West Bengal, the inhabitants of East Pakistan soon made it clear that their accession to a South Asian Islamic state by no means implied their abdication of their Bengali heritage in favour of Urdu.

The authoritarian regime of Ayub Khan (1958–69) attempted to achieve a balance of interests between the divided wings of Pakistan by amalgamating the linguistically diverse provinces of the West into the so-called 'One Unit' where Urdu was given supremacy on an equal basis with Bengali as the natural language of the monolingual East wing, with the customary de facto preservation of the status of English (albeit on a narrower basis than in India). This uneasy compromise was destroyed by the revolt in the East which led to the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, and to the secession of Bangladesh as an independent state.

Within the surviving western wing of Pakistan, Urdu has continued to be officially fostered, although the level of encouragement given to it has been determined by the different calculations made by the various conformations of the regimes which have governed the country. At the regional level, the numerical predominance of the Panjab, whose inhabitants mostly speak some variety of Panjabi but are now some of the most enthusiastic adherents of Urdu as a cultural language, is balanced by the latent hostility to Urdu felt by the inhabitants of the smaller provinces, notably Sind whose largest city, Karachi, became home to the largest concentration of Urdu-speakers in South Asia as a consequence of Partition (**22**). The ideology which brought Pakistan into being as an Islamic state has thus yet to be supplemented by a shared cultural understanding capable of doing justice to its intrinsic linguistic diversity, in spite of the efforts of its anti-Indian philologists (**24**).

4. The Range of Hindi and Urdu

The preceding sections have attempted to provide a minimal background for the understanding of the modern evolution of Hindi and Urdu. Inevitably concentrating upon reference to externally determining factors, these have largely disregarded the internal dynamics which make Hindi and Urdu what they are today.

Part II of this introduction is devoted to a serial description of the linguistic components of these twinned but now separate languages. But, while a technical acquaintance with the formation of Arabic and Persian or Sanskrit words is crucial to a full understanding of all styles of Urdu or Hindi, these styles also demand a more general appreciation. It is to such a necessary preliminary overview that the paragraphs of this section are dedicated.

41. Hindustani-Urdu-Hindi

The respective circumstances over which Urdu and Hindi have evolved over the past couple of centuries provide the chief parameters in which written styles of language are first to be viewed. But, as in any language, it is that individual contribution forthcoming from an individual writer's genius or talent which allows one to delight in any particular register, and the way in which it has been suited to meet the demands of expression to be expected in a particular genre of writing.

A great many varieties of style within the triangle determined by the three extreme points of deliberately down-to-earth Hindustani, highly Persianized Urdu and highly Sanskritized Hindi are inevitably to be detected from a superficial reading of texts in both languages: and the specimens selected for this book fall at various points around this triangular pattern. Given the time-depth we have sought to explore, perceptions of historical development should also rightly colour stylistic appreciation. On the other hand, our selection has necessarily been restricted by practical considerations: and many typical styles are hardly represented. Although we have attempted to steer some sort of middle course between the extremes of Sanskritized Hindi and Persianized Urdu, and have deliberately rejected speciously produced examples of 'fine writing' in either language per se, we have — for instance — nevertheless not found room for exemplification of the style of sports reportage which, whether in Hindi or Urdu, continues to be so profoundly influenced by both technical English loans and by English syntax.

The following sections are accordingly composed as brief overall introductions to the pieces we have succeeded in including in this anthology. If a certain bias emerges towards the more flexible styles which continue to be practised to such effect in both Hindi and Urdu, this perhaps reflects our double impatience with the ultra-varieties so disastrously attractive to the 'purists' in either camp.

42. The Range of Urdu

In spite of the latter-day efforts of protagonists of Hindi to depict Urdu as a deviant version of the *ārya bhāṣā* of India, the simple fact remains that it is a language which people in large numbers — albeit not geographically

concentrated — actually speak as their mother tongue.

Urdu did nevertheless have to face the formidable heritage of its Persian predecessor, for so long cultivated as the formal medium for prose-writing of all kinds by the Muslim courts of medieval India. The more remote Indo-Persian became from its spoken origins in Iran and Central Asia, the more obsessive the attention that was paid by its Indian practitioners to the niceties of the elaborate rhymed style (*inšā*) which was demanded from munshis supposedly competent in Persian. The British requirement for simplified texts which underlay the Fort William enterprise modified this heritage, without exorcizing all its formalistic redundancies or — of course — being able to avoid what have come to be seen as archaisms (**1**).

From a subsequent perspective, this early example of the Urdu of c. 1800 is also distinguished stylistically by a rather lax intertwining of its Persian and KhB elements. The preciosi of the declining courts of Lucknow and Delhi did their best to excise such imprecisions, principally in poetry but also in prose: but happily they were never quite to succeed in their attempted regulation of Urdu into a nicely-schooled niece of Persian. Ghalib, unquestionably one of the greatest of all Urdu poets, was quite casually eclectic in the inimitable prose-style he evolved for his letters, incorporating Persian and Arabic phrases, constructions and tags in the most natural fashion with an underlying syntax determined by the norms of Hindustani speech (**3**). Ghalib was, however, a great stylist: and without his linguistic genius, Urdu was equally capable of falling unaided into the pit of Sir Sayyid's rough style (**4**), or — with British encouragement — into the lifeless translations of their prescribed Hindustani textbooks (**9**).

While Urdu still looked as if it would enjoy a secure future in an undivided South Asia, a great range of styles was able to flourish. These ascended or descended — according to one's point of view — from the magically contrived 'simple' evocations of Delhi usage achieved by such master-stylists as Farhatullah Beg (**13**) to the orotundly Persianizing journalese preferred by Sharar in his capacity as self-appointed memorialist of the lost kingdom of Avadh (**11**). Between these extremes, a more natural literary idiom came to be evolved for such diverse purposes as literary criticism (**6**), linguistics (**10**), political autobiography (**14**) or pamphleteering (**18**). Although more Persianized both in vocabulary and constructions than spoken Urdu, this everyday literary Urdu style has a rather closer relationship to the norms of educated spoken Urdu than exists between literary and spoken Hindi.

Unfortunately for the continuance of this intrinsically natural Urdu style, as developed by native speakers from present-day Haryana to Calcutta in India, its evolution has come to lie in the linguistically alien territory of Pakistan. Cultural chauvinism *vis-à-vis* India, together with the inferiority-complex *vis-à-vis* the native-speakers of Urdu now settled in Pakistan, have come to encourage the development of a hyper-Persianized idiom quite as artificial as the modern hyper-Sanskritized Hindi of India. While given a certain force by the country's most prominent orators (**22**), the style of most Urdu writing in Pakistan all too accurately reflects the bombastically Persianized register of the official media (**24**).

43. The Range of Hindi

The unsympathetic attitude of the Hindi camp towards Urdu described in the previous section is reciprocated in the typical Urdu-speaker's view of Hindi — namely, in the memorable phrase of a character created by Anita Desai, as a 'vegetarian monster'. The style of Hindi which has prompted this view is the officially-promoted language with its heavy reliance on Sanskrit loans and neologisms, use of which is invariably equated with the concept of linguistic 'purity' (**17**). The degree of Sanskritization adopted by an author is the most important variable in Hindi prose style. It depends not only on chronology (though an increased use of *tatsamas* is certainly a feature of the modern language), but also on the background of the individual writer, the degree of abstraction of his subject-matter and its position on a scale stretching from deliberately elitist polemic to the more natural registers of creative or narrative prose.

The first attempts at writing Hindi prose such as those of the eccentric Insha (**2**) were necessarily experimental and self-conscious, and it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that a more natural style was to emerge. At that stage, before the Hindi-Urdu question had become an acrimonious communal issue, a high proportion of Sanskrit vocabulary did not necessarily have the corollary of a low number of Perso-Arabic loans, and a spontaneously eclectic register was achieved by such innovators as Harishchandra (**5**); and despite the constant attraction of Sanskrit loans, a mixed style of this kind has continued to find favour with gifted Hindi authors (**21**). Specialized subjects such as literary criticism, however, have of course always drawn heavily on the ready-made technical vocabulary of Sanskrit (**12**), and a similarly Sanskritized register invariably accompanies any subject matter with a specifically Hindu cultural context (**20**).

In the early decades of the present century it was the norm for Hindu boys of some social standing to be tutored in Urdu and Persian (**19**), a fact which obviously had its effect on the Hindi style adopted by writers with this background. Such an education was, however, far from universal, and the use of high-flown Urdu in public life and administration often caused an unbridgeable comprehension gap between the servants of the state and the lay public (**7**); even for the literate sections of society the use of Perso-Arabic words in the Nagari script was a somewhat baffling problem (**8**).

In the years leading up to Independence, the question of linguistic register assumed a new importance: no longer a merely academic issue, it became one of the clearest symbols of cultural identity in the turmoil of communal politics. While the more fervent Hindu nationalists saw Sanskritized Hindi as the appropriate choice of national language for independent India, those seeking a rapprochement of Hindu and Muslim interests joined Gandhi in a more conciliatory stance supporting Hindustani (**16**). Some important voices such as the Bengali poet Tagore were at best ambivalent to the attribution to Hindi of the new national role, since they regarded their own regional languages as having a better-established literary tradition; this revived the old question about the connexion between the language of literature and that of everyday speech — a debate whose echoes go back to Insha's generation — some advocates of Hindi such as the poet Nirala insisting that the connexion was an

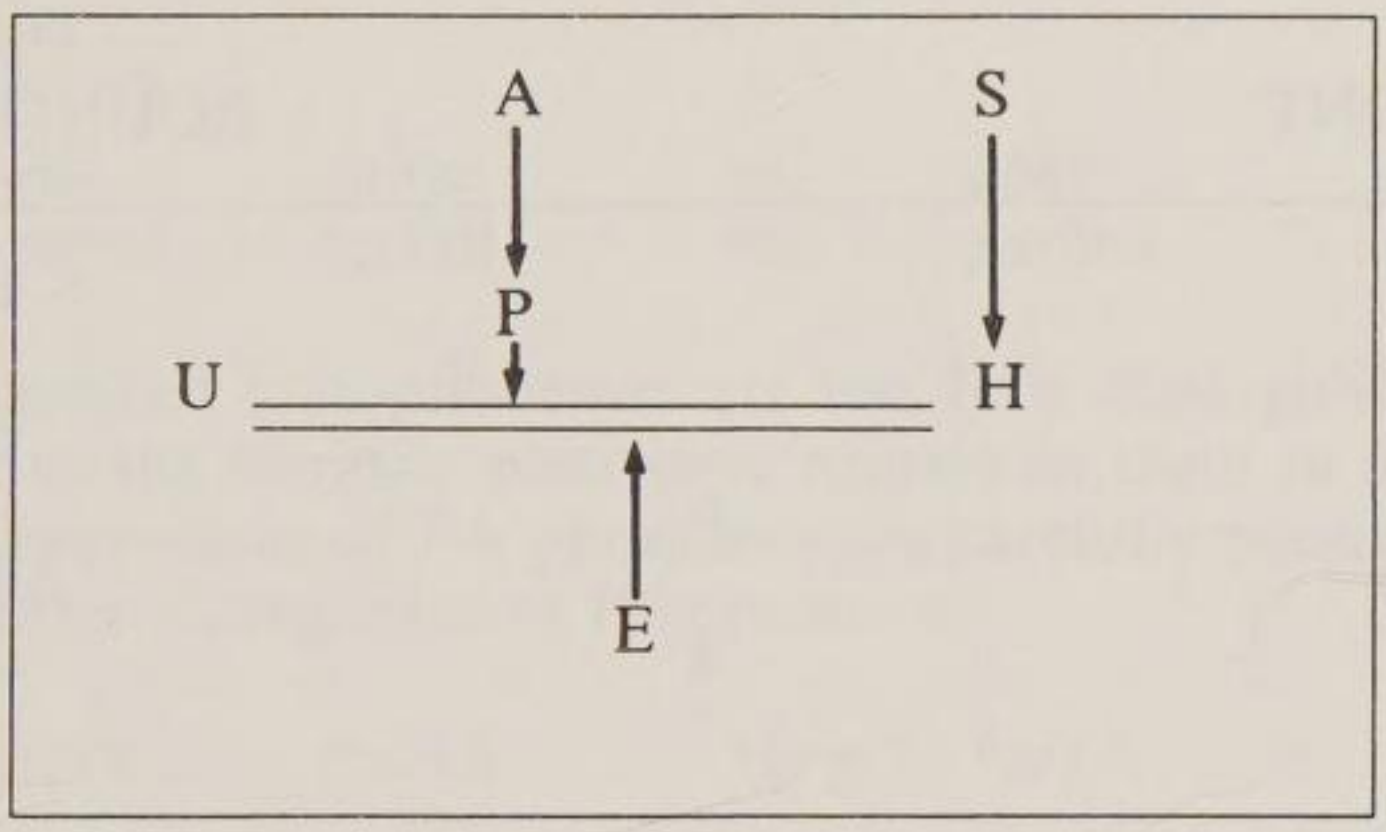
irrelevance (**23**). Ironically, much of the polemic with which the Urdu-Hindi-Hindustani debate was fought was heavily influenced by English in its syntax and its rhetoric (**15**), and this most insidious of influences continues to show its impress on most modern styles of both Hindi and Urdu.

PART II: THE LINGUISTIC COMPONENTS OF HINDI AND URDU

5. The Basic Components of Hindi and Urdu

Hindi (H) and Urdu (U) are susceptible to the same categories of detailed analysis as any other languages. But, of course, what makes them so interesting as a pair is the tension between their shared heritage as developments of the KhB dialect of the Delhi region, and their culturally-conditioned differential debts to other languages. Since it is assumed that users of this book will have at least a first-year student's knowledge of the core components shared by H and U, the emphasis of this part of the introduction is upon the description of the differences between them, in the context of the simple linguistic categories needed to understand these objectively.

A deliberately rapid review of the core-components of H and U in this section is accordingly followed by presentations in turn of the different loan-components provided by Sanskrit (S), Arabic (A), Persian (P), and English (E). In crudely diagrammatic terms, the pattern of these influences might be represented as:



In other words, P (including the huge A component which it assimilated) has had a massive influence upon the formation of U and continues to make something of its presence felt in H, whereas S — as a source of loans, as opposed to its historical status as the etymological ancestor shared by HU —is immensely prominent in H but virtually absent from U. Only E, in however underground a fashion, exerts an equally powerful influence on both H and U.

Since the diversity of these various loan-components is anyway intrinsically so great, and demands such a considerable feat of memory for the grasp of their respective outlines, no attempt has been made here at any very sophisticated linguistic analysis. Arranged by source-language, the following five sections are accordingly sub-divided into the broad categories of (1) phonology, i.e. the sound-systems and their reflections in the scripts; (2) lexicon, i.e. vocabulary and typical processes of word-building; (3) morphology, i.e. grammatical rules and the inflexion of words; (4) syntax, i.e. the rules governing the linking of words in phrases and sentences.

Because this book is designed for use by those who can cope quite well with the vocabulary and structures of such a common HU sentence as *āj tumhāre*

liye beṭī ne cāval banāe haiṅ, the sections of this part of the introduction are somewhat differently weighted. This HU section, assuming a basic knowledge, is devoted to a brief discussion of the differences between H and U and the explanation of the basic grammatical terminology used in this book. The following sections (6–8), on S, A, and P, emphasize their most salient features as loan-sources for H and U respectively, principally under the categories of lexicon and morphology. The final section (9) on E should prove easier reading.

51. Phonology

The phonological structure of a language is determined by the distribution of its phonemes, i.e. those sounds whose substitution by another affects the meaning of a word. Like most NIA languages, HU has a rather simple 10-vowel system albeit with the further possibility of contrast through nasalization, and a much more complex system of consonants. The complexity of the intrinsic IA consonantal system is further compounded by the existence of loan-phonemes from S and Perso-Arabic (PA) which are somewhat differently treated in H and in U respectively.

The shared HU vowel-system can be represented on a conventional phonetic grid as:

	FRONT		ROUNDED
HIGH	ī		ū
		i u	
	e		o
		a	
	ai		au
LOW		ā	

BACK

Contrasts between these 10 vowel-phonemes are readily distinguished on the basis of such minimal pairs as:

mil	meet	vs.	*mīl*	mile
melā	fair	vs.	*mailā*	dirty

A further contrast is that of nasalization, transcribed in this book as *ṅ*. This phonemic contrast applies to the peripheral vowels of the diagram, conventionally referred to as 'long' vowels in terms of their role in both H and U poetics:

sās	mother-in-law	vs.	*sāṅs*	breath
hai	is	vs.	*haiṅ*	are

The consonantal inventory is principally governed by the elaborate contrasts of voicing and aspiration across five points of articulation. In addition to 31 basic phonemes, a further 8 consonants with variable phonetic and phonemic status may also be distinguished. These are asterisked in the following grid:

	GLOTTAL	VELAR	PALATAL	RETROFLEX	DENTAL	LABIAL
VOICELESS	*q	k	c	ṭ	t	p
— ASPIRATED		kh	ch	ṭh	th	ph
VOICED		g	j	ḍ	d	b
— ASPIRATED		gh	jh	ḍh	dh	bh
NASAL				*ṇ	n	m
FRICATIVES		*x	š	*ṣ	s	*f
— VOICED	h	*ğ	*ž		*z	
FLAPS, &c.				ṛ	r	
— ASPIRATED				ṛh		
SEMIVOWELS & LIQUID			y		l	v

Contrasts between the basic phonemes are readily established by such minimal pairs as:

dāī	nurse	vs.	*ḍhāī*	two and a half
paṛnā	to fall	vs.	*paṛhnā*	to study

But the asterisked loan-phonemes are less fully distinguished, often being assimilated to the intrinsic phonemes nearest to them in articulation. The following distinctions of PA phonemes are carefully preserved in standard U, but are often disregarded in H speech;

**q/k* **x/kh* **ğ/g* **z/j* **f/ph*

The weak U distinction **ž/*z* hardly exists in H. Similarly, the S loan-phonemes found in very careful H speech in the distinctions **ṇ/n* and **ṣ/ś* are absent altogether from U, except as allophones, i.e. positionally governed variants of other phonemes. The phoneme *n*, for instance, is regularly pronounced in both H and U as the retroflex *ṇ* before a retroflex consonant, e.g. *aṇḍā* 'egg'.

511. Hindi script and transcription

The following conventions are used here in the transcription of H from the Nagari script:

:	ḥ										
अ	a	आ	ā	इ	i	ई	ī	उ	u	ऊ ū	ऋ ṛ
ए	e	ऐ	ai	ओ	o	औ	ai	◌ं	ṁ		
क	k	ख	kh	ग	g	घ	gh	ङ	ṅ		
क़	q	ख़	x	ग़	ǧ						
च	c	छ	ch	ज	j	झ	jh	ञ	ñ		
				ज़	z						
ट	ṭ	ठ	ṭh	ड	ḍ	ढ	ḍh	ण	ṇ		
				ड़	ṛ	ढ़	ṛh				
त	t	थ	th	द	d	ध	dh	न	n		
प	p	फ	ph	ब	b	भ	bh	म	m		
		फ़	f								
य	y	र	r	ल	l	व	v				
श	ś	ष	ṣ	स	s	ह	h				

The characters of the Nagari syliabary do not have names as such (with the exception of the designation *reph* for the allographs of *r*), but are referred to by suffixed *-kār*: '*a-kār*' etc.

The superscript *anusvār* either denotes vowel nasality (transcribed *ṁ*), in which case it is an alternative form to *candrabindu* (◌ँ); or it substitutes one of the five nasal consonants in a conjunct syllable (and is transcribed accordingly, as in *aṇḍā, hindī* etc.). Vowels with either *anusvār* or *candrabindu* precede unmarked vowels in dictionary order; some lexicographers list all words with vowel + *candrabindu* before words with vowel + *anusvār*, but the more usual practice is to treat them as a single category.

Visarg, all too easily confused with a colon in H texts, is often silent in pronunciation, though in S contexts it usually echoes the quality of the preceding vowel, so that *śāntiḥ* for example is pronounced as though written *śāntihi*. In dictionary order, *visarg* precedes the vowels, so that *duḥkh* for example will precede *duā*.

Although the Nagari script was devised to record IA sounds and the letters therefore correspond closely to H phonology, not all of them indicate independent phonemes. The spellings of S loans, in particular, naturally reflect the norms of S rather than H pronunciation. In the system of transcription used in this book, the inherent vowel *a* is written only where it is pronounced in H (except in section 6, dealing specifically with S forms).

512. Urdu Script and Transcription

The concessions made to S norms in the spelling of Nagari are minor indeed compared to the degree to which the U use of the PA alphabet is determined by the conventions of A spelling (711) and those of P orthography (811).

Thus the alphabet contains many redundant letters, asterisked in the following table, which indicated separate phonemes in A (71) but do not do so in U. The U names of the letters are:

ا	—	*alif*	د	d	*dāl*	ض	*z	*zvād*	م	m	*mīm*
ب	b	*be*	ڈ	ḍ	*ḍal*	ط	*t	*toe*	ن	n	*nūn*
پ	p	*pe*	ذ	*z	*zāl*	ظ	*z	*zoe*	و	v	*vāo*
ت	t	*te*	ر	r	*re*	ع	‘	*‘ain*	ہ	h	*choṭī he*
ٹ	ṭ	*ṭe*	ڑ	ṛ	*ṛe*	غ	ğ	*ğain*	ی	y	*ye*
ث	*s	*se*	ز	z	*ze*	ف	f	*fe*			
ج	j	*jīm*	ژ	ž	*že*	ق	q	*qāf*			
چ	c	*ce*	س	s	*sīn*	ک	k	*kāf*			
ح	*h	*baṛī he*	ش	š	*šīn*	گ	g	*gāf*			
خ	x	*xe*	ص	*s	*svād*	ل	l	*lām*			

Vowels are transcribed as pronounced according to the usual system, i.e. as *a ā i ī u ū e ai o au*, and the nasalizing *nūn ğunnâ* is transcribed as *ṅ*. Final silent *he* is written as *-â*, e.g. *baccâ* ‘child’. Written *hamzâ* is normally disregarded in the transcription, but *‘ain* is transcribed as an apostrophe. The silent *vāo* after *xe* is written as *ẉ*, e.g. *xẉāb* ‘dream’.

513. Hindi-Urdu contrasts

The systems of transcription used here have deliberately been made as similar to one another as possible, in order to bring out the underlying similarities between H and U which are so often obscured by their totally divergent scripts. A few purely orthographic contrasts nevertheless continue to be represented in this homogenized romanization. U *š* corresponds to both H *ś* and *ṣ*, so that frequent instances will be encountered of a purely visual contrast between e.g. H (and S) *bhāṣā* and U *bhāšā*; similarly, H has only one way of writing the final sound *-ā*, thus lacking the U orthographic distinction between e.g. *sīnā* ‘to sew’ and *sīnâ* ‘breast’: cf. U *tarâ* vs. H *tarah*.

The most obvious area of real contrasts lies of course in the differential status of loan consonant-phonemes (51). The syllabic structure of the two languages in their most sophisticated forms is similarly influenced by the different patterns of S on the one hand and PA on the other. While both languages are very careful about the spelling of their ‘own’ loan-words, and careful speakers often attempt their original pronunciation, each is equally careless about the other’s, to which the more casual rules of basic HU phonology and spellings are readily applied.

This basic phonology typically prefers a syllabic structure in which consonants alternate with vowels, avoiding clusters of consonants either initially or finally within a word: this is why E words like 'strength' are such tongue-twisters for HU-speakers. S, by contrast, abounds in such clusters, and there are plenty of them in final position in A words also. So S *janm(a)* 'birth' would be realized in pronunciation as *janam* by all U-speakers and most H-speakers. A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of unaccented short vowels, where original distinctions between *i* and that commonest of all IA vowels, *a*, are often lost. The A word *intizār* 'waiting', for instance, is pronounced and spelt by most H-speakers as *intazār*.

In spite of the utterly different character of the two scripts, word-boundaries in H and U are generally drawn in the same places. Minor exceptions concern such common graphic contrasts as the writing of postpositions after pronouns, the conjunctive participle, and the infinitive participle, where modern norms tend to differ between one-word H *usne, muskarākar, bolnevālā* and U *us ne, muskarā-kar*, and *bolne-vālā*, as transcribed in this book.

The extremely casual application of E punctuation-marks to the very different norms of HU syntax in both the Nagari and the PA scripts is hardly to be reduced to contrastive rules. Where necessary, the transcriptions follow the originals.

Since an U word cannot end with a short vowel, final *-i* or *-u* in S loans must be either dropped or lengthened when represented in U: thus *bhūm* (= S *bhūmi*), *bhaktī* (= S *bhakti*).

Although H spellings of AP vocabulary will normally be based on HU phonetic norms, some etymological AP spellings are occasionally preserved in H: *khvāb/xvāb* (pronounced without the *-v-*), and the archaic *muāf, muālūm* for current *māf, mālūm*.

52. Lexicon

The common stock of shared HU vocabulary derives from S, A, P, and European languages, and also includes a large number of vernacular words described as *desī* (the term ironically being Sanskritized to *deśī* in H usage). H-speakers rarely discriminate between A and P loans, just as U-speakers designate both *tatsama* and *tadbhava* levels of S-derived vocabulary under the one category of '*hindī*'. Although HU has its own processes of word-formation (522), the effective application of these is severely curtailed by a preference for the infinitely more prolific word-forming processes of the loan-sources S and PA.

521. Indo-Aryan Etymologies

The process by which the characteristic forms of NIA vocabulary derive from their S etymons can be observed in the *CDIAL*, an etymological dictionary which records the various stages of development of a huge range of IA vocabulary and by so doing plots the history of linguistic change from OIA to the wide variety of NIA languages. An important and invaluable feature of *CDIAL* is the fact that it shows not only 'vertical' or chronological development but also the 'horizontal' variations which account for the varying sound patterns distinguishing HU from

neighbouring languages such as Panjabi or Bengali: e.g. 9349 *bhaginī-* > Prakrit *bha(g)inī-/bahiṇī* > Panjabi *bhaiṇ*, HU *bahin*, Bengali *bon*.

The *CDIAL* is best approached through the 'Hindi' section of its index, which gives the OIA headword reference for a given HU word. An asterisk before a headword indicates that it is not an attested S word but a hypothetical reconstruction based on the evidence of the MIA and NIA lexicon: this demonstrates how the observed connexions between the various stages of language development can be formulated as rules for the accurate construing of etymologies.

The changes from OIA (S) through MIA (Prakrit) to NIA (HU) typically involve progressive simplifications of the complex phonology of S. The regular loss of the S final short vowels *-a -i -u* is accompanied by many other shifts of vowel-quality and quantity. These are, however, less immediately obvious than the major changes of consonants, which may be summarized in terms of the following typical developments:

(a) The simplification of most S consonant clusters, first to doubled consonants in Prakrit (still preserved in Panjabi), then to single consonants in HU. The preceding vowel is regularly lengthened in HU, and is often nasalized; e.g.:

CDIAL	S	Prakrit	Panjabi	HU	
55	*agni*	*aggi*	*agg*	*āg*	fire
2892	*karman*	*kamma*	*kamm*	*kām*	work
14024	*hasta*	*hattha*	*hatth*	*hāṯh*	hand

(Some common HU words are in fact of the 'Panjabi' types, preserving the doubled consonant form; *makkhan, acchā, gaddī*.)

Nasalization appears in e.g.:

43	*akṣi*	*akkhi*	*akkh*	*āṅkh*	eye
1600	*iṣṭakā*	*iṭṭhakā*	*iṭṭ*	*īṅṭ*	brick

(b) the loss of many S single medial consonants, e.g.:

CDIAL	S	Prakrit	HU	
10016	*mātṛ*	*māyā*	*māṅ*	mother
6507	**dekṣati*	*dekkhai*	*dekhe*	sees

(c) the reduction of S aspirated consonants to medial *-h-* in HU, e.g.:

2703	*kathayati*	*kahai*	*kahe*	says
6146	*dadhi*	*dahi*	*dahī*	yoghurt

(d) regular changes of many S consonants, e.g. of initial *y- v-* to HU *j- v-*, of medial *-ṭ- -ṭh-* to HU *-ṛ- -ṛh-*, and of S *ś* to HU *s* in all positions, e.g.:

10452	*yāti*	*jāai*	*jāe*	goes
11511	*vādya*	*vajja*	*bājā*	musical instrument
10496	**yoṭayati*	*joḍei*	*joṛe*	joins
7712	*paṭhati*	*paḍhai*	*paṛhe*	reads
12278	*śata*	*saya*	*sau*	hundred
6227	*daśa*	*dasa*	*das*	ten

It is worth noting the typical origin of the HU phonemes *ṛ ṛh* which are lacking in S, and the absence of *ś* in native HU *tadbhava* words. The re-establishment of the phoneme here transcribed as *ś* for H and *š* for U is due to the double influence of loans from S and PA.

Although H and U share this pool of *tadbhava* vocabulary, there are occasions on which they adopt as standard the derived forms of parallel etymons. This explains, for example, H *khīⁿcnā* versus U *khaiⁿcnā*, deriving from the reconstructed roots **khiⁿc-* and **khaiⁿc-* respectively. Similar discrepancies may occur, sometimes regionally, within H and/or U: e.g. the two forms *aⁿdherā* and *andhiyārā*, both deriving from **andhikāra*.

A separate category of HU vocabulary is that of *desī* words, those words of vernacular origin which do not derive from S etymons. Relatively rare in the literary prose exemplified in this book, *desī* words are typically associated with domestic contexts and the names of artefacts; in form they resemble the simpler *tadbhava* words, being free of the consonant clusters of *tatsama* vocabulary. Examples are *ṭabbar* 'family', *ḍaul* 'way'.

522. Semantic range

Their unique historical background gives to the sister-languages of H and U a unique potential range of vocabulary and register. While on the one hand the high ranges of PA and S designate 'pure' U and H respectively, the common ground between the two guarantees a certain minimum shared base from which neither language can in any honesty dissociate itself: on the one hand U is anchored to its basic NIA vocabulary, e.g. *roṭī, baṛā, khānā*, and on the other, H cannot operate fully without its legacy of P syntax and vocabulary — both of which are exemplified in the essential syntactic function of the P cj. *ki*.

Within the two extremes of dissimilarity and symbiosis there is an enormous range of flexibility in vocabulary use. In the context of everyday speech, most speakers of H and U will have at least a passive knowledge of two words designating many common items, e.g. *kitāb/pustak, hindustān/bhārat, dost/mitra*. The full lexical range is exemplified in sets such as the following, of which each member will be appropriate in a given context or register:

S	A	P	HU	
varṣ	*san*	*sāl*	*baras*	year
bhāṣā	*lisān*	*zabān*	*bolī*	language

While it is often the case that the PA word represents the colloquial norm in both U and H, the semantic field of any particular word is likely to have some specific cultural implication which affects usage: H *sevā karnā* implies a piety deriving from Hindu ideals of religious service which makes it semantically distinct from the more neutral U *xidmat karnā*. Conversely, the vast movement of populations after Partition led to the adoption in U of A *mujāhir* 'refugee', with its etymologically explicit invocation of the Hijra from Mecca to Medina, versus the looser connotations in the H synonym implied by S *śaraṇārthī*.

523. Word-formation

Both S (62) and P (82) are outstanding examples of Indo-European languages with richly productive patterns of word-formation: although belonging to the quite different Semitic language-family, A (72) is equally well-endowed in this regard. These formidably well-equipped models, latterly joined by E (92) with its ready capability of generating fresh words from its Germanic, Latin and Greek resources, stand collectively in marked contrast to the native patterns of HU, which are much less obviously productive in the formation of fresh words from pre-existing elements.

It is true that there are many instances of prefixation, changes in internal vowel-quality, and suffixation to be observed in the analysis of related HU words. But these tend to be 'bound' forms, conditioned by the evolution of NIA from the much freer possibilities for fresh word-formation existing in S, e.g. *an-paṛh* 'illiterate', *milnā* 'to meet' vs. *mel* 'union', or *miṭhās* f. 'sweetness' vs. *mīṭhā* adj. 'sweet'.

In the generation of fresh words, H therefore tends to rely upon S patterns, and U upon those of A and P. Productive vernacular formulae seldom extend beyond one or two common suffixes, e.g.:

(a) *-pan*, derived from S *-tvana*, used to form m. abstract nouns from adj. and concrete nouns, e.g.:

bhaddā	adj.	clumsy	*bhaddā-pan*	m.	clumsiness
laṛkā	m.	boy	*laṛak-pan*	m.	boyhood

The last example may be compared with *bac-pan* m. 'boyhood' from P *baccâ*, also with the less common *-āpā*, e.g. *buṛhāpā* 'old age'.

(b) *-ī*, derived from S *-in*, used to form adj. from nouns, e.g.:

pahāṛ	m.	mountain	*pahāṛī*	adj.	mountainous
dhan	m.	wealth	*dhanī*	adj.	wealthy

Since the same suf. *-ī* is also immensely productive in S (622c), A (722), and P (822f), etymological confusions are frequent. But the native activity of HU *-ī* is confirmed by such coinages as *filmī* 'to do with the films'.

H is perhaps more accommodating to other native suffixes than U, e.g. the adj. *-āū* in such words as *paṇḍitāū* 'pandit-ish, pedantic'.

524. Compounds

Most HU compounds are of the type called *dvandva* in S terminology (625a), i.e. they consist of two words in juxtaposition, e.g.:

bāp-dādā	mp.	ancestors	('fathers & grandfathers')
len-den	m.	dealing	('taking & giving')

The same pattern is freely extended to nouns borrowed from other languages, where P would insert the copula *o* (842) or E would have 'and', e.g.:

(A) *savāl-javāb*	m.	question and answer	
(A) *mihnat-mazdūrī*	f.	toil and labour	
(S) *śikṣā-dīkṣā*	f.	education and initiation	

Jingle-compounds, involving plays on the vowels or initial consonant of the first element, are more characteristic of HU speech than formal styles in either language, e.g. *ṭhīk-ṭhāk* adj./adv. 'fine', *rāzī-bāzī* 'O.K.', *khānā-vānā* 'grub', though not all such jingle-compounds are quite so informal.

The similar pairing of synonymous verbs both of which are independently conjugated is intrinsically natural to both H and U, e.g. *khelnā kūdnā* 'to play about' or *laṛnā jhagaṛnā* 'to quarrel'. The same sort of vague phonetic resemblance between the elements of such pairs is to be seen in verbal compounds whose second element has no independent function in HU, e.g. *milnā julnā* 'to resemble', vs. *milnā* 'to meet', etc.

53. Morphology

The main NIA morphological features of HU are shared in common, and call for little comment here, although the inflexion of the demonstrative pronouns constitutes a major shibboleth between the two. It is, moreover, the HU verb which constitutes the most morphologically complex part of speech, and so the opportunity is taken to establish a common terminology here to aid subsequent comparison between the notes to the H and the U passages of this book.

531. Pronouns

(a) The U s.dir. 3rd person demonstratives *ye* and *vo* contrast with H *yah* and *vah*. The theoretical distinction in H between *yah* as s. and *ye* as p. is often overlooked, *yah* being used for both numbers by many writers, and *ye* often serving as a s. form in speech. Likewise *vah* is essentially a written H form, being given its full phonetic value only when spoken very deliberately in isolation; indeed some writers have adopted *vo* as a H spelling, albeit non-standard. *ve* is standard as the p.dir. 3rd person demonstrative in H, but is not used in U which has *vo* (frequently found in H also).

(b) H has some rarely encountered forms of the indefinite pronoun which have been virtually dropped from U: *kinhīṅ, kinhoṅne*.

(c) Loans into HU from S (e.g. *svayam*) and P (e.g. *xud*) are noted in 633 and 833 respectively.

532. Parts of the Verb

The names of the simple tenses — present (pres.), future (fut.), past, imperative (imp.) and subjunctive (subj.) — are in general currency, like the infinitive (inf.) and the broad category of participles (ptc.). Other parts of the HU verb are variously named in different grammars of H and of U, and the following terminology is adopted here:

(a) absolutive (abs.): the unmarked stem so frequent in compound verbal phrases, e.g. *uṭhā le gae*.

(b) adverbial participle (adv. ptc.) the obl. form in *-e* of the pres. or past ptc. used adverbially, e.g. *baiṭhe baiṭhe*.

(c) conjunctive participle (cj. ptc.): the extended form of the abs., typically with *-kar*, e.g. H *muskarākar* = U *muskarā-kar* (513).

(d) extended participle (ext. ptc.): the extension of the pres. or past ptc. with forms of *huā*, e.g. *bhejā huā xat*.

(e) infinitive participle (inf. ptc.): the extension of the obl. inf. with *-vālā*, e.g. H *bolnevālā* = U *bolne-vālā* (513).

The term 'phrase-verb' is used to denote conjuncts of nouns or adj. with *karnā* etc., while 'modal verb' is loosely used to cover such diverse verbal conjuncts as *kar ḍālnā, kar denā*, and *kar saknā*.

54. Syntax

The syntax of the simple HU sentence is distinguished by the typical word-order subject-object-verb, the use of postpositions (ppn.), not prepositions, but of pre-modifying adjectives before nouns, and the frequent use of enclitic particles, sometimes called 'emphatics': all these features govern the syntactic of even so simple a sentence as *maiṅ bhī āp ke bhāī ko aisī kahānī sunā saktā hūṅ*, vs. E 'I too can tell your brother such a tale'.

It is a major purpose of this book to illustrate the ways in which writers of H and U prose build upon such basic structures. And many of the notes to the passages draw attention to the underlying influence of the often different syntactic patterns of the major loan-languages, especially P (84) and E (94), to the deliberate exploitation of the alternative resources provided by these languages or to the felicitous combinations of borrowed structures with colloquial idiomatic expression achieved by the best writers of H and U, who from their different perspectives are equally aware of the multiple resources available to them from their complex linguistic heritage.

A basic understanding of the underlying patterns of HU syntax is taken for granted in these notes, especially of the fundamental contrast between the HU preference for parataxis, in which clauses are placed side by side, which contrasts so strongly with the preference of even the simplest styles of E for the subordination of subsidiary clauses, e.g. *jo laṛkī kal āī, vo merī bahin hai* vs. E 'the girl who came yesterday is my sister'. This HU preference underlies the first of the features to which brief attention is drawn below (541).

541. Pre-modifiers

One of the most striking contrasts between everyday HU speech and the norms of formal H and U prose usage is furnished by the formal preference for extended phrases, typically incorporating S or PA elements, in writing, where simple spoken styles would naturally prefer a relative clause. A phrase familiar from its initial formulation by E-speaking officials of the Raj, such as 'the name written below', might be most naturally realized in HU as a relative clause beginning *jo nām nīce likhā huā hai,....* The alternative pre-modifying ext. ptc. (532d) will, it is true, yield *nīce (kā) likhā huā nām*: but this is hardly more than a pale attempt to indigenize the complex borrowed pre-modifiers much more likely to emerge in official usage, whether reflected in the H take-over of S *nimnalikhit nām* or the contrary U preference for the PA *mundarajâ-e zail nām*. In this respect, both S and PA come together in encouraging both formal H and U to develop often artificial pre-modifying phrases of the type illustrated in E by the Germanic model of 'the Fascist-loathing professoriate': as so often, the apparent Sanskritisms of H do little more than reflect the ubiquitous presence of Indo-Persian officialese, still so apparent in U, or subsequent coinages from E.

542. Indigenous resources

The influence of the loan-languages upon indigenous patterns of HU syntax, so conspicuously illustrated by the preference of formal H and U styles by their incorporation of pre-modifiers, is reflected in many other aspects of the language of the pieces included in this book. Notice is drawn in an overall fashion thereto in the succeeding sections (6–9), and is further incorporated into the notes on the passages which follow.

Particular attention may, however, be initially drawn to two general features of the native syntactic patterns of HU, which serve to determine the inclusion of many specific notes:

(a) phrasal reduplication:

Although sometimes confusable in appearance with the characteristic *dvandva*-type compounds already described (524), this process serves a vital syntactic function in HU. Vaguely covered by the blanket terms 'emphasis' or 'distribution', there is seldom a one-to-one correspondence with E, e.g. *ṭhīk ṭhīk nahīṅ jān sakte* 'cannot perceive (quite) accurately', *šurū' šurū' meṅ* 'in the very beginning', *ek ek dost ke liye* 'for each (individual) friend', *abhyās karte karte* 'through (constantly) practising', or *samay samay par* 'from time to time'. That seductively convenient but utterly unhelpful label 'intensive', so frequently employed by E-speaking grammarians of HU to cover all sorts of inconvenient phrasal constructions, similarly applies only remotely to the equally productive insertion of *kā* into reduplicated adj. patterns. e.g. *kore ke kore* '(all) utterly dumb', or *sab ke sab* 'all (and every)'.

(b) enclitics:

The three common enclitic particles ... *to*, ... *bhī*, ... *hī* tend to be very awkwardly introduced into elementary teaching grammars with such E glosses as 'however', 'also', 'indeed'. This awkwardness stems largely from the impossibility of their full introduction to learners who have not yet been exposed to real H or U sentences and paragraphs. While it is true that *hī* tends to function within a sentence either as an 'emphatic' or in the restrictive sense of E 'only', the other particles very commonly serve to link sentences within the loose paratactic norms of HU with what has gone before. If the same sort of thing is being said, then *bhī* is the natural indicator of this: the frequent U preference for *aur*, whose equivalent 'and' is so strictly forbidden at the beginning of formal E sentences, perhaps continues to reflect the convenient *vāo* that indicates PA *va*... 'And...'. The preference in U for A *lekin* or P *magar* 'but', reproduced in the H substitution of S *parantu*, may similarly serve to obscure the basic resource of the shared HU adversative enclitic ... *to*, whose subtle implications in relation to the prior statement are best illustrated in notes ad loc., rather than by any attempt at establishing overall rules here.

6. The Sanskrit Component

The influence of S on all the modern languages of India is very marked: this influence extends not only to the IA languages directly descended from S, but also to languages of the distinct Dravidian group, which are now major borrowers of S vocabulary. The emergence of the modern style of formal H has largely been achieved through the massive increase in the number of S loans borrowed into the language, displacing often well-established loans from PA and attempting to displace that important if smaller body of vocabulary borrowed from E.

Insofar as all NIA languages are descendants of S, many of their grammatical and formal features are clearly traceable to S patterns. The phonology of HU and the script of H are very largely directly inherited from S (51), and many features of S morphology are apparent in HU forms (52). Despite the formal parallels between HU and S, however, the most important aspect of S *vis-à-vis* NIA is its availability as a source of loan-words: a glance at the H glossary of this book will show the extent of the debt of H to its ancestor. While U will in most circumstances prefer PA loans, and S has never been a major source of loans for U or indeed for other languages such as Sindhi having a clear Muslim identification, there are a number of S words which have found their way into the more general register of HU; these words, such as *samāj* 'society', are typically free of the heavy consonant clusters so unappealing to U-speakers, and are readily accommodated by the U script. Specifically Hindu cultural contexts such as the *pūjā* 'worship' in the *mandir* 'temple' will clearly generate a predominance of S vocabulary in U as well as H usage; and the same applies in certain technical subjects such as music, for which the ground-rules were developed within the Hindu tradition.

61.

Given the importance of the S lexicon as a source of loans, the greater part of this section has been allotted to a description of the word-forming processes by which both original and neological S vocabulary comes into being.

61. Phonology and Script

The S syllabary, whose systematic phonological arrangement demonstrates the sophistication of the Indian grammatical tradition from a very early period, underlies all its NIA derivatives. Before the standardizing influence of the printing press made its mark on Indian culture, S was often written in the various regional scripts, most of which bear strong formal and stylistic resemblances to the Nagari script and share its phonological arrangement; but in modern times, S has increasingly become associated with Nagari, and the regional scripts have accordingly become more or less exclusively the vehicles of the vernacular languages.

The S syllabary differs from that used for H (511) only in the realized values of some of the characters and in the absence of diacritically marked graphs representing sounds such as *ṛ, q* and *z* which have no place in the S sound-system.

There is much variation in the HU realizations of S sounds; the more self-conscious H speaker with a knowledge and appreciation of the S forms will certainly give characteristic S sounds their full value, even if they are unrepresented in the simpler phonology of HU, but more generally such sounds are assimilated to HU norms in pronunciation, though this process of simplification does not normally extend to written forms.

Of the vowel series *a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ e ai o au*, only the syllabic liquids *ṛ, ṝ* and *ḷ* call for comment: *ṛ* has the value /ri/ in both H and S pronunciation, though both /ru/ and /ra/ are found as variants; *ṝ* (ॠ) is *ṛ* lengthened, and *ḷ* (ऌ) is pronounced as the '-le' in 'fable'. Graphic *ṛ* is met in H only in S loans, the sound /ri/ otherwise being represented as *ri* (though some confusion of *ṛ* and *ri* existed before the conventions of H spelling became standardized early this century); *ṝ* and *ḷ* do not occur in HU, but may be encountered occasionally in the citation of S texts.

The sounds *ṇ* and *ṣ* maintain their retroflex quality in S pronunciation, whereas in H they are commonly equated with *n* and *ś* respectively (unless forming a conjunct with another retroflex consonant as in *kaṇṭh, kaṣṭ*).

The historical pronunciation of the conjunct *jñ*, which has its own graph ( ), approximates to the medial sound in E 'onion', though starting with the tongue position for a dental 'd'; the more common HU pronounciation however is as *gy*, as evidenced by the E spelling of the personal name 'Gyan' (vs. HS *jñān* 'knowledge').

The realization of *anusvār* is also subject to variation. Before *y* and *v* (e.g. *saṅyukt*), *anusvār* represents a nasalization of the preceding vowel; before *r, l* and *s* (e.g. *saṅskṛt*) it usually represents a nasal consonant closely similar to dental *n*, but will come closer to a labial nasal *m* in some pronunciations; before *ś* it usually represents a nasal consonant midway between dental and palatal in position, though this may be weakened to simple vowel nasality for some speakers. In final position, *anusvār* is pronounced as *m* (e.g. *svayam*, written स्वयं).

A change in the pronunciation value of *anusvār* will occur with the formation of some words through a *vṛddhi* vowel gradation (623): thus the *anusvār* in *saṅskṛti* 'culture' approximates more closely to a full nasal consonant than the *anusvār* in *sāṅskṛtik* 'cultural', which represents vowel nasality only.

The subscript sign *virām* in S and H indicates the absence of the inherent *a* vowel from a consonant, as in परिषद् *pariṣad;* it provides a convenient alternative to writing the more cumbrous conjunct characters such as those produced by *d* + *bh* or *ṭ* + *ṭh,* and is an essential component of typewritten Nagari, in which many conjuncts have to be represented in this manner.

The showing of word-boundaries in S is a modern development; traditionally, words are not separated, and indeed often coalesce in the process of sound-change called 'sandhi' (611): this is in sharp contrast to P orthographic conventions (811).

Unlike H, S observes the rule that an unmodified consonant is followed by the 'inherent' vowel *a* even medially and at the end of the word (thus S *Rāma, avasara* vs. H *Rām, avsar*. The convention of showing all inherent *a* vowels in transliteration is therefore followed in this section (only).

611. Sandhi

In E, pluralizing '*-s*' is pronounced as /s/ after a voiceless sound but as /z/ after a voiced sound, as in 'clocks' and 'clogs' respectively. Sandhi or 'junction' is the process by which S acknowledges graphically such sound changes produced by adjacent sounds in a word or phrase. The rules for this process are complex, but a summary of the basic rules is essential for an understanding of the composition of S loans.

The main features of vowel sandhi are:

(i) *a/ā* combines with a following vowel as shown:

a/ā + a/ā = ā:

kārya	work	+ *ālaya*	place	= *kāryālaya*	office
a/ā + i/ī = e:					
parama	supreme	+ *īśvara*	lord	= *parameśvara*	God
a/ā + u/ū = o:					
varṣa	year	+ *utsava*	festival	= *varṣotsava*	annual festival
a/ā + ṛ = ar/ār:					
mahā	great	+ *ṛṣi*	sage	= *mahārṣi*	great sage
a/ā + i/e = ai:					
sadā	always	+ *iva*	indeed	= *sadaiva*	always, ever

(ii) Vowels of the same quality, long or short, combine to form a long vowel:

avani	earth	+ *īśa*	lord	= *avanīśa*	'lord of the earth'

(iii) i/ī changes to *y*, and *u/ū* to *v*, before a vowel of a different quality:

prati	per	+ *eka*	one	= *pratyeka*	each

The commonest sound-changes of consonant sandhi are shown in the grid below, which is not exhaustive but which will resolve most examples of sandhi encountered in S loans in H:

First word ends:						+	Second word begins:
				h/r			
k	ṭ	t	p	(s)	aḥ		
g	ḍ	d	b	r	o		g/gh, d/dh, b/bh, y/v, r, vowel
k	ṭ	c	p	ś	aś		c/ch, ś
g	ḍ	j	b	r	o		j/jh
k	ṭ	ṭ	p	ṣ	aṣ		ṭ/ṭh
g	ḍ	ḍ	b	r	o		ḍ/ḍh,
k	ṭ	t	p	s	as		t/th
ṅ	ṇ	n	m	r	o		n/m

Examples:

jagat	world	+ *ambā*	mother	= *jagadambā*	the mother goddess
dus	bad	+ *jana*	person	= *durjana*	rogue
manas	mind	+ *rañjana*	pleasing	= *manorañjana*	entertainment
sat	true	+ *guṇa*	quality	= *sadguṇa*	virtue
sat	true	+ *jana*	person	= *sajjana*	gentleman

As some of the above combinations demonstrate, the process of sandhi tends to obscure the separate identity of the individual words involved, and the breaking down of sandhi combinations into their constituent parts is an essential first step in the construing of a S sentence or in the understanding of many S loans in H. The situation becomes more complex (and therefore more difficult for the language-learner, as any student of S will testify) when sandhi combinations themselves join forces with the diverse processes of word-compounding (625) which are such a characteristic feature of S grammar.

612. Guṇa and Vṛddhi

The vowel changes noted above follow a process codified in the rules of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, a two-stage process of vowel gradation which is an important element in S word-formation (623). This system recognizes three qualities of 'simple' vowel, *a/ā, i/ī* and *u/ū*. Each of these is augmented to the so-called *guṇa* stage by combining with a preceding *a*-vowel; the *guṇa* vowel is similarly augmented to form the *vṛddhi* stage by again combining

with *a*. The process is best seen diagrammatically:

Simple vowels:	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ
Guṇa	a	ā	e		o		ar
Vṛddhi		ā		ai		au		ār

Thus *a* itself remains unchanged in the *guṇa* stage, and *ā* likewise in both stages.

62. Lexicon

The majority of S loans in H are nouns and adjectives, which of course have a further important role in the phrase-verbs and postpositions so prominent in the grammar of HU. The use of S conjunctions and adverbs (such as *evam* 'and' and *kramaśaḥ* 'respectively' respectively) tends to be restricted to the higher, more formal register of H, but the tendency is for this register to spill over into current speech habits, thereby maintaining the pace of the long-established processes of Sanskritization. Loans fall into three main categories: (a) simple borrowings of genuine S usage (e.g. *patra* 'letter'); (b) borrowings of existing S words for meanings other than their original ones (e.g. *ākāśa-vānī* 'All-India Radio', and hence 'radio' generally, originally meaning 'heavenly voice, oracle'); (c) neologisms coined from S roots to designate new concepts or artefacts (e.g. *dūrabhāṣa*, 'telephone'). This tripartite distinction counts for little with most H-speakers, although the take-up of neologisms into actual usage varies from item to item (and is often in direct competition with a well-established E loan such as *ṭelīfon*).

621. Prefixes

Like Latin and Greek, S makes full use of prefixation in the formation of words, and a knowledge of this process aids an understanding of S-derived H vocabulary. The most common are listed below. The use of affixes is distinguished from true compounds (625), where each of the two components may function alone as a separate word.

Note that in some usages the pref. merely intensifies the meaning of the word to which it is attached; also that the sense of the resultant word is not always fully predictable from the literal meaning of the pref.

(a) *a-, an-* 'un' etc.:

khaṇḍa	segment	*akhaṇḍa*	continuous
tithi	date	*atithi*	guest (of uncertain period!)

(b) *anu-* 'according to, with regard to':

sāra	essence	*anusāra*	conformity
artha	meaning	*anvartha*	intelligible

(c) *apa-* 'contrary, inferior':

māna	respect	*apamāna*	affront
bhraṅśa	breakdown	*apabhraṅśa*	corruption

(d) *ava-* 'downwards':

guṇa	quality	*avaguṇa*	defect
rohaṇa	ascent	*avarohaṇa*	descent

(e) *ud-* 'upwards':

gama	going	*udgama*	source, origin
tāpa	heat	*uttāpa*	great heat

(f) *upa-* 'subordinate':

mantrī	minister	*upamantrī*	deputy minister
pati	husband	*upapati*	paramour

(g) *ku-* 'deficient':

karma	action	*kukarma*	evil deed
rūpa	form	*kurūpa*	ugly

(h) *dus-* 'bad, hard':

jana	person	*durjana*	rogue
vacana	word	*durvacana*	abuse

(i) *nis-* 'without, away':

kalaṅka	stain	*niṣkalaṅka*	immaculate
svārtha	selfishness	*niḥsvārtha*	unselfish

(j) *para-* 'other':

deśa	country	*paradeśa*	foreign land
upakāra	good deed	*paropakāra*	charity

(k) *pari-* 'around; fully':

aṭana	wandering	*paryaṭana*	touring
śrama	work	*pariśrama*	toil

(l) *punar-* 'again, re-':

ca	and (enclitic)	*punaśca*	P.S.
āgata	arrived	*punarāgata*	returned

(m) *pūrva-* 'before, pre-':

kathana	statement	*pūrvakathana*	prediction
kāla	time	*pūrvakāla*	past time

(n) *pra-* 'forward; very much':

kriyā	action	*prakriyā*	process
gati	movement	*pragati*	progress

(o) *prati-* 'each; per; reciprocal; contrary':

kriyā	action	*pratikriyā*	reaction
ukti	statement	*pratyukti*	reply
śata	hundred	*pratiśata*	percent

(p) *vi-* 'distinct':

deśa	country	*videśa*	foreign land
ghaṭita	occurred	*vighaṭita*	disrupted

(q) *sa-* 'with, having':

ānanda	happiness	*sānanda*	happy
citra	picture	*sacritra*	illustrated

(r) *sam-* 'with, together with, complete':

arpaṇa	offering	*samarpaṇa*	dedication
pūrṇa	full	*sampūrṇa*	complete

(s) *sama-* 'same, equal':

ākāra	shape	*samākāra*	of the same shape
artha	meaning	*samārtha*	synonymous

(t) *saha-* 'with':

jāta	born	*sahajāta*	congenital, twin
udara	belly, womb	*sahodara*	sibling

(u) *su-* 'good':

ruci	taste	*suruci*	good taste
varṇa	colour	*suvarṇa*	gold

(v) *sva-* 'one's own':

artha	purpose	*svārtha*	self-interest
tantra	system	*svatantra*	independent

The use of S pref. is usually restricted to S nouns, though exceptions such as H *sajild* (S *sa-* + A *jild*) 'bound, hardback (book)' are encountered.

622. Suffixes

Hardly less prominent than the pref. listed above are the S suf.; these are typically affixed to *vṛddhi* forms or other allomorphs, as is the case with many of the examples given here:

(a) *-ka, -ikā,* f. (agentive):

kāra	action	*kāraka*	grammatical case
pāṭha	read	*pāṭhaka*	reader (m.)
		pāṭhikā	reader (f.)

(b) *-ika* (adj.):

śikṣā	education	*śaikṣika*	educational
itihāsa	history	*aitihāsika*	historical
dina	day	*dainika*	daily

(c) *-in/-ī* (adj. and m. nouns: *-ī* is the S nominative ending, used generally in H to the exclusion of *-in*); f. *-inī*:

dharma	religion	*dharmī*	pious
grantha	book	*granthī*	reader of books
rāga	melodic mode	*rāgiṇī*	subordinate mode

(d) *-kāra* (agentive):

saṅgīta	music	*saṅgītakāra*	musician
svarṇa	gold	*svarṇakāra*	goldsmith

(e) *-ja* ('-born'):

jala	water	*jalaja*	lotus
agra	first, anterior	*agraja*	elder brother

(f) *-jña* ('-knowing'):

viśeṣa	particularity	*viśeṣajña*	specialist
kṛta	done	*kṛtajña*	obliged, grateful

(g) *-tā* (f.), *-tva* (m.) (abstract nouns, '-ness'):

gambhīra	profound	*gambhīratā*	profundity
mahat	great	*mahattva*	greatness

(h) *-da* ('-giving'):

jala	water	*jalada*	cloud
sukha	pleasure	*sukhada*	pleasant

(i) *-pūrvaka* (adverbs):

sukha	pleasure	*sukhapūrvaka*	happily
śānti	peace	*śāntipūrvaka*	peacefully

(j) *-maya* ('full of, characterized by'):

śānti	peace	*śāntimaya*	pacific
harṣa	joy	*harṣamaya*	joyful

(k) *-mān* m., *-matī* f. ('characterized by'):

buddhi	wisdom	*buddhimān*	intelligent
śrī	dignity	*śrīmān*	(m. honorific)
		śrīmatī	(f. honorific)

(l) *-ya* (m. verbal nouns; adj. '-able'):

dhṛ-	hold	*dhairya*	patience
gama-	go	*gamya*	accessible

(m) *-vat* (adj. and adv. of comparison, '-like'):

paśu	animal	*paśuvata*	bestial
vidhi	rule	*vidhivata*	regular(ly)

(n) *-vāna* m., *-vatī* f., (adj. of possession):

dhana	wealth	*dhanavāna*	wealthy
saubhāgya	good fortune	*saubhāgyavatī*	woman with living husband

623. Vowel-changes

A *vṛddhi* (612) vowel gradation is commonly involved in word-formation, typically in the forming of adjectives from nouns, or of abstract nouns from concrete nouns:

a → ā:

parvata	mountain	*pārvatī*	mountain-born, Parvati
vyavahāra	practice	*vyāvahārika*	practical
samāja	society	*sāmājika*	social

i → ai:

vidyā	learning	*vaidya*	learned, doctor
viṣṇu	Vishnu	*vaiṣṇava*	Vaishnavite
śiva	Shiva	*śaiva*	Shaivite

u → au:

kumāra	bachelor	*kaumārya*	bachelorhood
buddha	Buddha	*baudha*	Buddhist

ṛ → ār:

krśa	thin	*kārśa*	thinness

624. Numerals

The S numerals (particularly the lower ones) are in common use in H in formal or ceremonial contexts:

	Cardinals	Ordinals
1	*eka*	*prathama*
2	*dva*	*dvitīya*
3	*tri*	*tṛtīya*
4	*catur*	*caturtha*
5	*pañca*	*pañcama*
6	*ṣaṣ*	*ṣaṣṭha*
7	*sapta*	*saptama*
8	*aṣṭa*	*aṣṭama*
9	*nava*	*navama*
10	*daśa*	*daśama*
100	*śatam*	*śatama*

625. Compounds

H makes extensive use of the various categories of S compound (*samāsa,* 'placing together'), and HU forms its own vernacular compounds on the same models. In this section, the constituent parts of the examples are hyphenated for clarity, except where joined in sandhi combination. The order in which words are connected is generally as in E, e.g. *go-rasa* 'cow-juice, milk'.

(a) *Dvandva.* A co-ordinative or dual compound, in which the component parts would be in the same case and connected by 'and' if uncompounded. S *anna-jala* 'sustenance', lit. 'food and drink'; *sukha-duḥkha* 'joy and sorrow'; HU *bāp-dādā* 'ancestors', lit. 'fathers and grandfathers'.

(b) *Tatpuruṣa.* A determinative compound, i.e. one in which the last member is qualified by the first without losing its grammatical independence (and thus contrasting with (c) below). The name *tat-puruṣa* 'his servant' is itself an example of this class. Of the various varieties, the following two are the most important:

Karmadhāraya, in which the component words would stand in the same case if the compound were dissolved: *prāṇa-priya* 'dear-as-life', *rājarṣi* (= *rāja* + *ṛṣi*) 'royal sage'; HU *baṛ-bhāgī* 'fortunate'.

Dvigu, in which the first member is a numeral (as in *dvi-gu,* 'two cows'): S *pañcāṅga* (= *pañca* + *aṅga*) 'almanac with 5 types of astrological data', *catur-māsa* 'four months of the rainy season'; H *caupāī* 'quatrain metre'.

(c) *Bahuvrīhi.* An adj. or possessive compound in which the last member loses its character as a noun and together with the first member becomes adj., as E 'four-berth' in 'four-berth cabin'. The name *bahu-vrīhi,* lit. 'much rice' but meaning 'having much rice', is an example of the class. S *catur-bhuja* 'four-armed', *golākāra* (= *gola* + *ākāra*) 'spherical'; HU *haṅs-mukh* 'jovial'.

Though the examples given here each comprise two words only, multiple compounds are a characteristic feature of S composition. The rhetoric of poetic description makes frequent use of adjectival compounds in series, undiluted by the cj. and other syntactic connections so essential to the E phrase. Thus in the following half-verse from the *Bhagavadgītā* giving the description of Krishna, the S text (which would show no word-breaks in a traditional Nagari layout of the text) has no need of the equivalents of the bracketed E words:

anādimadhyāntam-anantavīryam-anantabāhuṃ-śaśisūryanetram 'without beginning, middle, [or] end, almighty, many-armed, [with] eyes [that are] sun and moon'.

S words only rarely combine with non-S words to form compounds in H: *zilādhīś* 'district magistrate' (A *zilā* + S *adhīśa*). (There is rather greater freedom in the compounding of HU with P words: *ḍāk-xānā* etc.)

63. Morphology

Only rarely is the complex inflexional system of S apparent in HU, whose analytical use of ppns. to indicate case represents a wholesale simplification of the eight-case structure of the S paradigm. An example of the intrusion of S synthetic syntax into H is the rare and ultra-formal loan-usage of the S agentive termination *-eṇa* to form an adverb: *rupeṇa* 'in the manner (of)', e.g. *sthāyī rūpeṇa* (alongside H *sthāyī rūp se*) 'permanently'.

631. Gender

Those nouns which are m. or f. in S generally retain their genders in HU (though there are exceptions to trip up the unwary), and the genders indicated by the formative affixes listed in 622 hold good. Neuter S nouns tend to become m. in HU, though not invariably. The characteristically f. *-ā* ending of S (*ambā* 'mother') is of course in marked contrast to the extended m. *-ā* ending of HU nouns and adj. (*choṭā laṛkā* 'little boy'). Numerous m./f. pairs on the model of *kaniṣṭha* m. 'younger brother' / *kaniṣṭhā* f. 'younger sister' are encountered; f. *-ikā* endings often make diminutives, as *pustikā* 'booklet'.

632. Adjectives

The S ptc. adj. in *-ita* (less commonly *-ta, -na*) is used in the more formal registers of H as a syntactic alternative to an ext. ptc. construction: S *likhita* for H *likhā huā/likhī huī* (541). As generally, the inflexions of the S adj. are not carried through into H, which treats *likhit* as invariable. The ptc. adj. allows a very close rendering of E syntax, with its fondness for the verbal adj., and is therefore particularly common where E syntax is only thinly disguised by its H overlay. Further examples are *datta* 'given', *kṛta* 'done', *śikṣita* 'educated', *jñāta* 'known', *thakita* 'fatigued', *sthāpita* 'established', *gata* 'gone, passed', *bhinna* 'different'.

The only other feature to impinge extensively on H is the use of S comparatives and superlatives, formed by the suffixation of *-tara* and *-tama* respectively to the simple adj.: this usage exists alongside the much more common periphrastic comparative construction involving the ppn. *se*. Examples are *uccatara* 'higher', *uttama* 'best' and *priyatama* 'dearest', all of which are typically found in formal or formulaic contexts.

633. Pronouns

The only S pronoun to have currency in H is the reflexive *svayam*, which regularly replaces P *xud* (833) in formal contexts. Usually written with *anusvār*, it may alternatively be written with a full *ma-kār + virām* (61).

64. Syntax

Many of the characteristic features of HU syntax derive from S patterns, exemplified by the following sample:

(a) a commonly-used past passive construction with the logical subject put into the instrumental case (with *-ena* ending) underlies the H agentive construction in which the logical subject is marked by ppn. *ne*.

(b) periphrastic expressions circumventing the need for a verb 'to have' are common in S and appear in such HU expressions as *mere do bhāī haiṅ* 'I have two brothers'.

(c) an important class of causative verbs in S is created by adding the suffix *-aya* to a strengthened verb root (i.e. one with a *guṇa* vowel): e.g. the verb *darśayati* 'cause to see, show' from root *dṛś* (cf. lengthening of stem in HU *dekh-/dikhā-*).

(d) the plural number is used for honorific register in both languages — as also in A, P, and old E.

(e) the relative clause constructions so characteristic of HU, with their associated preference for paratactic sentence construction, derive from S models. The HU relative pronouns and adverbs beginning *j-* (*jo* etc.) correspond to S equivalents in *y-* (*ya-* etc.), and have correlatives beginning *t-* as in dialects of H other than KhB; and anyone familiar with HU relative-correlative constructions and with the S enclitic adverb *iva* 'likewise, just so' should be able to construe without difficulty the S motto of the Indian navy flagship *Viraat: jalameva yasya balameva tasya* 'He who holds the ocean holds the power'.

An extension of this list would give further but unnecessary evidence of the uncontentious fact that HU is derived from S. Yet though S syntax certainly determines many NIA patterns through historical descent, its direct influence is relatively small. In many ways P has had a more profound influence on the development of HU syntax than has S; and the S element of modern H prose is often a mask for underlying E patterns, just as the *Viraat* is in fact the superannuated HMS *Hermes*, refitted and recommissioned.

7. The Arabic Component

Whereas S, P and E have in their different ways directly affected the evolution of H and U, the influence of A has historically been more indirectly exerted through the large A component already built into P (21). The analysis of H thus hardly calls for elaborate distinctions between A and P items or compound PA forms, and it is customary to treat common words of A origin, e.g. *kāfī* 'quite', *kitāb* 'book', *kursī* 'chair', simply as belonging to the shared P component of HU. This approach is, however, quite inadequate for the proper understanding of U, in which the A component is immensely more prominent. The orthography of the U script itself continues to be heavily influenced by its A origins, several features of A grammar regularly appear in formal U styles, and it is above all the vast resources of the A lexicon which continue to provide U with the greater part of its learned and abstract vocabulary. Over half the words listed in the Urdu-English glossary at the end of this book, for instance, derive from A.

It is thus hardly possible to appreciate literary U without some understanding of the structures of A. Since A is a Semitic language like Hebrew (cf. A *salām* = Hebrew *shalom*), these structures are quite different from the familiar Indo-European patterns shared by HU with S, P and E, and are dominated by the principle of modifying consonantal roots through prefixes, infixes and suffixes, both to form words and to indicate different grammatical forms. The idea of 'writing' is, for instance, regularly expressed in HU and S by some form of *likh-* or *lekh-*, but in A by the triliteral root KTB, which yields the following U nouns:

KāTiB	calligrapher
KiTāB	book
KiTāBat	calligraphy
KuTuB	books

muKāTaBat	correspondence
maKāTĪB	letters
maKTŪB	letter

It is worth noting that the A script is a much better guide in indicating the etymological connexion between these words than either Roman or Nagari spellings. The non-representation of short vowels, so confusing at the outset to most learners of U, is in fact rather well suited to writing A words, since the radical letters are thereby given greater prominence.

Most A roots are of the triliteral type exemplified by KTB. Various special rules are involved when the root has identical consonants as second or third members, e.g. HQQ 'right', or involves one of the letters *alif*, *vāo* or *ye* which double as vowels, e.g. FYD 'benefit'. These are mentioned only in passing below, like the less common quadriliteral roots, e.g. TRJM 'translate'. It is the typical triliteral consonant roots which dominate A, and their commonest modified patterns which must first be grasped in understanding the A component of U.

71. Phonology

The A script was devised to record the sounds of classical A, whose phonemic contrasts are very different from the typical IA pattern of U. The casual notation of vowels, for instance, which is so characteristic a feature of the script, can be seen to be justified by the simplicity of the A vowel-system, which contrasts only 6 simple vowels (*a ā i ī u ū*) with two dipthongs (*aw ay*). These can be easily indicated by the three vowel-letters, further supplemented where necessary, as in the sacred text of the Quran, by the three vowel-signs for *a* (A *fathâ*, P *zabar*), *i* (A *kasrâ*, P *zer*), and *u* (A *zammâ*, P *peš*).

The distribution of the 28 consonant-phonemes is quite unlike the HU pattern, or indeed that of most Indo-European languages. The characteristic sound of A derives largely from the prominence of sounds produced from the throat, *q*, the glottal stop ' written with *hamzâ*, and the pharyngeal ' and *ḥ*, plus the emphatic lateral series *ṭ ḍ ṣ ẓ*. Classical A also distinguishes the dental fricatives *θ δ* as in E 'thin' and 'then'. The contrasts indicated by the letters of the A alphabet may be represented schematically as:

														ء (')
												ق q	ک k	
								ط ṭ	ت t					
ب b				ج j	ض ḍ	د d								ع (')
م m						ن n								
				ش š	ص ṣ	س s								
					ظ ẓ	ز z								
ف f				خ x		ث θ								ح ḥ
				غ ğ		ذ δ					ه h			
و w				ی y		ر r								
						ل l								

The arrows indicate the assimilations already effected to fit the quite different phonology of P (81) which were carried over into U. The brackets indicate the process by which both A *hamzâ* and *'ain* were first reduced to a glottal stop in P, then lost altogether in U as independent phonemes.

By contrast, the syllabic structure of classical A is much closer to that of HU than S. There are no initial consonant-clusters, and only two-member medial clusters. It is, however, true that the loss in P and U of the final short vowels which play an important part in the grammar of classical A has resulted in a number of significant changes. These have been typically effected either by the insertion of epenthetic *a*, e.g. A *qadr(u)* > U *qadar* 'amount', or by the simplification of doubled consonants, e.g. A *haqq(u)* > U *haq* 'right'.

711. Script

While on the one hand the religious prestige of the A script has encouraged its adaptation by Muslims to write languages quite different in structure from A, on the other the continuing tradition of teaching a reading knowledge of the Quran has helped foster an adherence to strictly A spelling-norms. This tension is reflected in the orthography of U, which takes little account of long-established phonetic assimilations when it comes to writing A loans. It is consequently the original pattern of A roots rather than the different rules of U phonology which determine the use of *baṛī he* vs. *choṭī he*, of *toe* vs. *te*, of *se* or *svād* vs. *sīn*, or of *zāl*, *zvād* or *zoe* vs. *ze* in such spellings. Similar rules apply to the writing of *'ain*, realized as a consonant in U only in artificially Arabicized pronunciations as demanded e.g. in a maulvi's sermon.

The norms of A are also preserved in the special rules applied to the pronunciation of phrases involving the definite article *al-* 'the'. Further discussed below (741), these imply an assimilation of the final *-l-* to the sound of those consonants, technically called 'sun letters', which fall within the dotted lines on the diagram above (71).

The historic divergence of the Meccan dialect spoken by the Prophet from the classical A norms which accorded full phonemic status to the glottal stop resulted in a rather complex set of rules for writing *hamzâ* in A. Although well-established in U as a device for indicating sequences of vowels in native words, *hamzâ* is consequently used somewhat erratically in U spellings. This is hardly surprising in view of the absence of the glottal stop in HU phonology. But it does result in frequent deviations from careful A spelling norms, e.g.:

šu'arā	poets

No attempt has been made to standardize such doublets in the U passages of this book.

In one other respect also, the A script was not quite able to do justice to its language. The characteristic termination of f. nouns and adjectives is in *-â* in independent and final position, but in *-at* before a following word. This equivocation was reproduced in A orthography by the ingenious device of placing the two dots of *te* over *choṭī he* so as to produce the compound character called *tā marbūtâ*. But the P preference for one or

other phonetic realization was given added point by the intrinsic HU distinction between *-â* as a characteristically m. marker in contrast to the typically f. implication of final *-at*. Hence the U distinction between such originally ambiguous A loans as:

A *iḍāfa(t)*	f.	increase; genitive
U *izāfat*	f.	genitive, izafat
U *izāfâ*	m.	increase

The compound *tā marbūtâ* only exists in the repertoire of U typographers to indicate careful spellings of derived forms from such A f. nouns, or f. nouns of central religious status. In both cases it is pronounced as *t* in U, e.g.:

daf'atan	adv.	suddenly
salẉāt	f.	prayer

72. Lexicon

Very many of the A words which had been transmitted to P were in turn handed on in India to become intrinsic parts of the shared HU word-stock. As already indicated, however, the long-established example of drawing from A followed by almost all writers of P prose was more than amply imitated by their South Asian successors in U. In this respect, the obvious historic influences exerted by the primacy of Quranic studies and the related disciplines of e.g. grammar and literary criticism have come to be profusely supplemented by the twentieth century emergence of A as a language of major world significance, whose purism in the devising of coined neologisms has come to exert an additional influence on contemporary U vocabulary.

Across this very wide range of semantic areas, extending far beyond the obvious territory of Islamic vocabulary, loans from A are nevertheless typically concentrated in quite few grammatical categories. These above all consist of nouns, including adjectives, and those slots into which the grammatical structure of HU allows loan-nouns to fit so easily, i.e. compound postpositions and phrase-verbs. The dictionaries will produce the A-derived verb *qabūlnā* 'to accept' from the A root QBL 'precede, approve', but a much more typical pattern of the grammatical distribution of its derivatives in U is indicated by the following list of common loans:

QāBiL	adj.	capable
maQBūL	adj.	popular
QāBiLiyat	f.	ability
maQBūLiyat	f.	popularity
(se) QaBL	ppn.	before
(ke) QāBiL	ppn.	worthy of
maQBūL karnā	vt.	to approve
maQBūL honā	vi.	to be approved

721. Derived verbal forms

The primary part of speech in A is not the 'noun' (*ism*), corresponding to both nouns and adjectives in HU, or the 'particle' (*harf*), embracing the miscellaneous categories of pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections, but the 'verb' (*fi'l*) (**10**). The simplest vocalization of the root KTB is, after all, the verbal form *KaTaBa* 'he wrote': and it is this form which constitutes the head-word governing the arrangement of A dictionaries.

As is well recognized by U authorities, however, it is the *ism* rather than the *fi'l* which dominates the pattern of A loans in U. Very many of these loans are to be assigned to derivatives of the complex system of the A verb, which far surpasses the simple model of HU *dikhnā* 'to be seen', *dekhnā* 'to see', *dikhānā* 'to show', etc. Commonly used forms of the A verb, conventionally distinguished by Roman numerals, distinguish between e.g. I 'simple verb', II 'intensive', III 'reciprocal', IV 'causative', V 'reflexive of II', VI 'reflexive of III', VII 'passive', VIII 'reflexive', X 'desiderative'. A long process of semantic specialization has done much to obscure these primary functions, but the formal links in the system do much to underly the etymological relationships between a great many of the A loans used in U.

These loans are formally classified in terms of A grammar as verbal nouns (*masdar*) or as active or passive participles. The modifications of the root are best described in terms of the standard A paradigm-root F'L 'do':

	verbal noun	active ptc.	passive ptc.
I	*Fi'L* etc.	*Fā'iL*	*maF'ūL*
II	*taF'īL*	*muFa''iL*	*muFa''aL*
III	*muFā'aLâ(t)*	*muFā'iL*	*muFā'aL*
IV	*iF'āL*	*muF'iL*	*muF'aL*
V	*taFa''uL*	*mutaFa''iL*	*mutaFa''aL*
VI	*taFā'uL*	*mutaFā'iL*	*mutaFā'aL*
VII	*inFi'āL*	*munFa'iL*	*munFa'aL*
VIII	*iFti'āL*	*muFta'iL*	*muFta'aL*
X	*istiF'āl*	*mustaF'iL*	*mustaF'aL*

While form I has very distinctive forms for the active and passive ptc., the derived forms rely for this distinction upon the contrast between *-i-* and *-a-* which is very weakly maintained in HU (513): and for this reason rather few such contrasts are preserved in U.

It is much more important to learn to recognize the correlations between the verbal nouns, typically beginning with the 'servile' syllables *ta-*, *mu-*, *i-*, *in-*, *ist-* and the corresponding ptc., typically an adj. in U, beginning with *mu-*, since such pairs are extremely common. The following examples illustrate such typical correspondences, whose connexion is seldom straightforwardly apparent from the alphabetical order of U dictionaries:

	verbal noun			adj. ptc.		
I	*'iLM*	m.	knowledge	*'āLiM*	m.	scholar
				ma'Lūm	adj.	known
II	*ta'LīM*	f.	education	*mu'aLLiM*	m.	instructor
III	*muTāBaQat*	f.	conformity	*muTāBiQ*	adj.	conforming
	muTāLa'â	m.	study	*muTāLi'*	adj.	attentive
IV	*iSLāM*	m.	Islam	*muSLiM*	m.	Muslim
V	*ta'aJJuB*	m.	amazement	*muta'aJJiB*	adj.	amazed
VI	*taFāVuT*	m.	difference	*mutaFāViT*	adj.	diverse
VII	*inKiSāR*	m.	humility	*munKaSiR*	adj.	humble
VIII	*iNtiZāR*	m.	wait	*muNtaZiR*	adj.	waiting
X	*isti'MāL*	m.	use	*musta'MaL*	adj.	used

It is to be noted that the nouns in the first column are normally m. in U, except for the II form *taf'īl*, which generates large numbers of f. nouns, and the variant of the III form in *-at* which is f. by rule. The overlap between adj. and m. nouns in the second column is of course entirely in line with the blurred distinction between these two grammatical categories in HU.

722. Other Derived Forms

Besides the patterns of the derived verbal forms, most nouns and adj. are formed by the same sort of modification of the verbal root. Nouns of place, for example, are indicated by the pattern *maF'aL*, as illustrated by such common loans (from the roots TB' 'print' and KTB) as:

maTBa'	m.	press
maKTaB	m.	mosque school

The commonest adj. pattern is *Fa'īL*, e.g.

JaDīD	adj.	modern, new
QaDīM	adj.	ancient, old

The corresponding abstract nouns are, however, less predictable in pattern than adj. of this form. Thus *JiDDat* f. 'modernity, innovation', vs. *QaDāMat* f. 'antiquity'.

The great richness of vocabulary generated by all these patterns of root-modification allows A to dispense with the use of prefixes of the Indo-European type. Of the very few suffixes, by far the commonest is *-ī*, which converts a noun into an adj., and its extension *-iyat*, which converts the adj. into a f. abstract noun. U has many sets of this type, e.g.

asl	m.	basis	*insān*	m.	man
aslī	adj.	real	*insānī*	adj.	human
asliyat	f.	reality	*insāniyat*	f.	humanity

73. Morphology

The grammatical inflexion of A is effected by the same devices as word-formation, i.e. both by modification of the root and by the addition of suffixes. Both features are present in the inflected forms of A nouns and adj. which are used in U.

731. Gender

Although A is a two-gender language like HU, there is no direct correlation of gender between A and HU because of the transmission of A loans through P, which resembles E in having no grammatical gender. So *kitāb*, for instance, is m. in A but f. in HU.

The characteristic A f. suf. *-a(t)* appears in U either as *-â* m. or as *-at* f., e.g. *izāfâ* m. 'increase' vs. *izāfat* f. 'izafat' (711). Only in a few pairs of animate nouns does the suf. *-â* indicate a f. in U, e.g.

sāhib	m.	Mr.	*sāhibâ*	f.	Mrs.
vālid	m.	father	*vālidâ*	f.	mother

732. Declension

In classical A, the singular noun has three cases: nominative (nom.), accusative (acc.), and genitive (gen.), distinguished by the three short vowels in pronunciation, though not usually in the script. There is also a distinction between definite forms, typically prefixed by the definite article *al-* 'the', and indefinite forms, indicated by *tanvīn*:

nom.	*al-kitābu*	the book	*kitābun*	a book
acc.	*al-kitāba*	the book	*kitāban*	a book
gen.	*al-kitābi*	the book's	*kitābin*	a book's

The indefinite acc., written with *tanvīn* and with *alif* (except after f. *-at*), appears in U in a number of common A loans, as a specialized adverbial suf., e.g.

taqrīban	about	*fauran*	immediately
daf'atan	suddenly	*maslan*	for example

Since U words do not end in short vowels, the endings of the definite cases are normally lost. The nom. *-u* is however preserved in many compound names and phrases borrowed from A (741).

733. Duals and Sound Plurals

The dual number of classical A, used to indicate pairs, is represented in U only by a few fixed loans with the ending *-ain*, which are treated as p. nouns, e.g.:

taraf	f.	side	*tarfain*	mp.	both parties
vālid	m.	father	*vālidain*	mp.	parents

Most m. nouns in A have 'broken' plurals (734), as opposed to 'sound' plurals which are formed by the simple addition of endings to the s. The mp. ending *-īn* is occasionally used in U (but suggests a high-flown style), for instance:

mandūb	m.	delegate	*mandūbīn*	mp.	delegates

By contrast, A f. nouns regularly form 'sound' plurals, by changing the s. ending *-â(t)* to *-āt*, and this pattern is very commonly followed in U, e.g.:

jazbâ	m.	feeling	*jazbāt*	mp.	feelings
rivāyat	f.	tradition	*rivāyāt*	fp.	traditions
'imārat	f.	building	*'imārāt*	fp.	buildings
nazriyâ	m.	theory	*nazriyāt*	mp.	theories

The gender of the p. in U is thus normally determined by that of the s.

The sound p. suffix *-āt* is also freely added in U to A nouns not ending in *-at* or *-â*, especially to abstract nouns, e.g.:

asar	m.	effect	*asarāt*	mp.	effects
ihsās	m.	feeling	*ihsāsāt*	mp.	feelings

Particularly free use of the ending *-āt* is found in the debased officialese of legal documents, etc., where it may be added even to native HU words, e.g.:

caukī	f.	guard-post	*caukiyāt*	fp.	guard-posts

Finally, in modern U, the suf. *-iyāt*, technically the p. of the A abstract suf. *-iyat* (722), is used to form f. nouns indicating academic disciplines, e.g.:

islām	m.	Islam	*islāmiyāt*	f.	Islamic studies
lisān	f.	language	*lisāniyāt*	f.	linguistics

It is to be noted that the A endings *-ain*, *-īn*, and *-āt* do not permit the further addition of the HU obl. p. marker *-oṅ*, e.g.:

'imārāt	buildings	=	*'imārateṅ*
'imārāt meṅ	in the buildings	=	*'imāratoṅ meṅ*

734. Broken Plurals

Most m. nouns in A have 'broken' plurals, formed by the same type of re-patterning of the radical letters as the numerous derived forms illustrated above (721–2). The contrast with the characteristic A f. sound plurals may be illustrated by such sets as:

Šā'iR	m.	poet	*Šu'aRā*	mp.	poets
Šā'iRâ	f.	poetess	*Šā'iRāt*	fp.	poetesses

Many of the commonest patterns of these broken plurals are freely employed in written U in all but the most deliberately simple styles, and it is consequently essential to learn to recognize them. Collectively, they are formally treated in U in the same way as the sound plurals in *-āt*, i.e. their gender is normally the same as that of the s., which may be m. or f. in U (731), and they do not add *-oṅ* in the obl. case.

Some twenty types of broken-plural pattern can be exemplified from A loans in U, but the following seven patterns account for the great majority of examples. Since the form of the s. is seldom completely predictable from that of the p., the essential requirement is to learn to recognize just that a given pattern indicates a broken plural, rather than, e.g., a derived verbal form or an adj.: but the commonest forms of corresponding singulars have been indicated in the following descriptions.

(a) *aF'āL*.

This is the commonest of all broken-plural patterns for nouns of the basic types *Fa'L*, *Fa'aL*, *Fi'L*, etc.:

Ši'R	m.	verse	aŠ'*āR*	mp.	verses
'aMaL	m.	action	*a'MāL*	mp.	actions
LaFZ	m.	word	*aLFāZ*	mp.	words

Other common examples from roots which do not have fully consonantal members (7), e.g. SM, ŠY', WQT, include the following:

iSM	m.	noun	*aSMā*	mp.	nouns
ŠaI	f.	things	*aŠYā*	fp.	things
VaQT	m.	time	*aUQāT*	mp.	times

(b) *Fu'ūL*.

The next commonest of broken-plural patterns corresponding to nouns of the same basic s. types, e.g.:

HaRF	m.	letter	*HuRūF*	mp.	letters
'iLM	m.	science	*'uLūM*	mp.	sciences

This pattern reveals the original structure of A 'doubled' roots as HQQ or XTT, where the s. has been simplified by the rule which forbids final doubled consonants in HU, e.g.:

HaQ	m.	right	*HuQūQ*	mp.	rights
XaT	m.	letter	*XuTūT*	mp.	letters

(c) *Fu'aLā.*

This common pattern regularly denotes the p. of m. animate nouns. The writing of the final *hamzâ* is a somewhat pedantic Arabicism in U, and is often omitted (711). There are two corresponding s. patterns.

The commonest is the active ptc. *Fā'iL* (721), e.g.:

Šā'iR	m.	poet	*Šu'aRā*	mp.	poets
TāLiB	m.	student	*TuLaBā*	mp.	students
'āLiM	m.	scholar	*'uLaMā*	mp.	scholars

The other s. pattern is the typical adj. model *Fa'īL* (722), e.g.:

RaFīQ	m.	colleague	*RuFaQā*	mp.	colleagues
FaSīH	m.	orator	*FuSaHā*	mp.	the eloquent

(d) *Favā'iL.*

This pattern is reserved for the p. of inanimate nouns of the same active ptc. type *Fā'iL(â)*, e.g.:

ZāBiTâ	m.	rule	*ZavāBiT*	mp.	rules, grammar
Qā'iDâ	m.	rule	*Qavā'iD*	mp.	rules, grammar

(e) *Fa'āiL.*

This pattern is also reserved for the p. of inanimate nouns, but of the adj. type *Fa'īL(â)*, e.g.:

ZaMīR	f.	pronoun	*ZaMāiR*	fp.	pronouns
VaSīLâ	m.	resource	*VaSāiL*	mp.	resources

(f) *maFā'iL.*

This pattern is the standard broken p. for all nouns whose s. has four consonants and which have a short vowel before the last consonant. These notably include the nouns of place following the pattern *maF'aL* (722), also *maF'iL*, e.g.:

maJLiS	f.	organization	*maJāLiS*	fp.	organizations
maKTaB	m.	mosque school	*maKāTiB*	mp.	mosque schools

Nouns from quadriliteral roots also conform to this pattern, e.g.:

TaRJuMâ	m.	translation	*TaRāJiM*	mp.	translations
DaFTaR	m.	office	*DaFāTiR*	mp.	offices

(g) *maFā'īL*.

This pattern is also reserved for nouns whose s. has four consonants, but also one of the long vowels *ā ī ū* before the last consonant, e.g.:

taFSīL	f.	detail	*taFāSīL*	fp.	details
SuLTāN	m.	emperor	*SaLāTīN*	mp.	emperors
maZMūN	m.	theme	*maZāMīN*	mp.	themes

It is worth noting how the separate formal origins of the s. forms, whether the I passive ptc. *mazmūn*, the II verbal noun *tafsīl*, and the quadriliteral noun *sultān* are equally subject to the same formal rules of A in the formation of their broken plurals, as regularly used in U.

All the A p. forms, whether sound or broken, which occur in the U passages are separately entered in the Urdu-English glossary, with the necessary citation of the corresponding s. forms. It is, however, to be noted that many common A loan-nouns in U can appear in all sorts of p. forms, since the native HU system is so regularly supplemented by recourse not simply to both the sound and broken formations of the A p., but also to the doublets occasionally permitted by the variety of A broken-plural patterns. Two examples of the triple choices thus sometimes available in U illustrate the possibilities:

taFSīL	f.	detail	*taFSīLāt*	fp.	details
taFSīLeṅ	fp.	details	*taFāSīL*	fp.	details
TāLiB	m.	student	*TuLaBā*	mp.	students
TāLiB	mp.	students	*TaLaBâ*	mp.	students

All six of these p. forms would be perfectly legitimate in contemporary written U: but — perhaps fortunately — most loans are able to generate only one realistic form of their A plural.

735. Adjectives

As in most inflected languages (including HU), the declension of the A adj. is considerably simpler than that of the noun. By the rules of A grammar, all adj. qualifying a f. noun must be put in their f. form, with the typical ending *-a(t)*: and by a further peculiar rule of A, the same applies to the broken plurals of m. nouns, which are treated as f. in gender. Laboriously assimilated into the learned usage of P (which has no genders of its own), this rule is reflected in U only in a few set PA loans, e.g. *aqvām-e muttahidâ* fp. 'United Nations', which uses the P izafat to link the (a)-type broken plural *aqvām* of *qaum* 'nation' with the A f. form of the adj. *muttahid* 'united'.

Instead of the comparative and superlative degrees of the adj. marked by different suffixes in S, P and E (although not in HU), A has only a single intensive form. Called the 'elative', this is realized in the pattern *aFʿaL* (f. *Fu'Lā*, written with final *ye*), but is used in U only as an etymological source for separate lexical items, or for names, e.g.:

KaSīR	adj.	numerous	*aKSaR*	adv.	often
SaĞīR	adj.	less, small	*aSĞaR*	m.	Asghar
			SuĞRā	f.	Sughra

74. Syntax

Two types of compound A phrases are frequently used in U: and these are explained below. The frequency with which more complex A expressions are freely employed in many styles of U also makes it useful to have some understanding of the structure of the simple A sentence, which is quite as different from HU norms as are the characteristic processes of A word-formation and inflexion.

741. Possessive Phrases

The A possessive construction resembles the post-modifying pattern of E 'the rights of the child', vs. the pre-modifying HU *kā*, e.g. U *bacce ke huqūq* 'the child's rights'. The construction is used to form a number of compound phrases in U usage, including both nouns (especially proper names) and adj.

Its simplest form is illustrated by the elegant synonym for 'wine' favoured in classical U poetry:

bintul-'ināb	f. the daughter of the grape

The first noun *bintu* has the definite nom. ending [-u] (732). The second noun (technically in the genitive) is preceded by the definite article, which is elided in pronunciation with the preceding *-u*, although written in full as *al-'ināb* 'the grape'. Exactly the same formal structure is found in the common A loan-phrases head by *dār* 'place of', e.g.:

dārul-hukūmat	m. capital ('the place of the government')
dārul-'ulūm	m. university ('the place of the sciences')

The most frequent use of the construction is in the formation of many Muslim names, e.g.:

abul-kalām	m. Abul Kalam ('the father of the word')
'abdul-halīm	m. Abdul Halim ('the slave of the Clement')
'ainul-haq	m. Ainul Haq ('the eye of the Truth')

The same rule of elision applies to the numerous names ending in *allāh*, e.g.:

asadullāh	m. Asadullah ('the lion of God')
farhatullāh	m. Farhatullah ('the delight of God')

When the second noun begins with one of the 'sun letters' (71–711), the written *lām* is assimilated to this letter in pronunciation, e.g.:

'abdur-rahmān	m. Abdur Rahman ('the slave of the Merciful')

The same rules of pronunciation apply to the adj. compounds formed by the use of this construction, e.g.:

jalīlul-qadar	adj. illustrious ('glorious of worth')
'azīmuš-šān	adj. splendid ('great of glory')
vājibut-tark	adj. to be eschewed ('worthy of leaving')

This adj. formation is so well-established in U that it can occasionally accommodate a non-A word, e.g.:

sanskritul-asl adj. Sanskritic ('Sanskrit of origin')

742. Prepositional Phrases

Yet another contrast between HU and A syntax is furnished by the use of prepositions in A. Some of the commonest of these appear as the first members of loan-phrases in U, which are typically adverbial in sense, e.g.:

bi-	in, on	*'alā ('alai)*	on
baina	between	*fī*	in
hattā	up to	*li-*	for

These govern the genitive case in A, but the ending *-i* (732) is preserved in U only in the middle of possessive phrases. The only common example is:

bismillāh in the name of God

The pronunciation and spelling of adv. phrases beginning with *bi-* demands somewhat careful attention. The written *alif* of the article is elided in pronunciation with *bi-*, which is joined to it in writing, and the 'sun letter' rule may also govern the pronunciation of the written *lām*, e.g.:

bit-taxsīs	adv.	especially ('in the particular')
biz-zāt	adv.	essentially ('in the essence')
bil-kul	adv.	quite ('on the whole')

li- 'for' is also joined to the following letter in writing:

li-hāzā	cj.	therefore ('for this')

Other prepositions are written separately, but elisions of the article regularly occur in pronunciation, e.g.:

bainal-aqvāmī	adj.	international ('between the nations')

Those prepositions which end in a long vowel shorten this in pronunciation before the article, although they are written in full, e.g.:

hattal-imkān	adv.	as far as possible ('up to the possibility')
'alal-'umūm	adv.	generally ('on the general')
fīl-jumlâ	adv.	overall ('in the aggregate')
fīl-haqīqat	adv.	actually ('in the reality')

fī 'in' is also the only A prepn. to have independent status in U, where it is used as a convenient synonym of E 'per', itself of course borrowed from Latin. It is freely used not only with A but also with P and even native HU words, e.g.:

fī sāl	per year	*fī-sad*	percent
fī šaxs	per person	*fī ghanṭâ*	per hour

743. Arabic Sentence-structure

The typical A sentence-order is verb-subject-object. A is thus classified as a VSO language, quite unlike P or HU, which are SOV languages, or English, which is an SVO language. Since the A sentences and expressions that commonly occur in U tend to be restricted to quite simple religious formulae, the full pattern seldom emerges.

The placing of the verb first in the sentence or clause is, however, to be noted in such expressions as:

a'ūzu billāh	I take refuge with God!
inšallāh	if God wishes!
illā māšallāh	except as God wishes!

In the last two phrases the verb *šā* 'wish' precedes the subject *allāh*.

A is also a language which favours nominal sentences, i.e. sentences without a verb, which would be expressed in languages like HU or E with some form of the verb 'to be'. The commonest examples of all are:

as-salāmu 'alaikum	peace (be) upon you!
va-'alaikum as-salām	and upon you (be) peace!

A similar pattern is also found in negative sentences, beginning with the negative adv. *lā* 'not', e.g.:

lā haul va lā quvvâ illā billāh

(there is) no strength or power but through God!

Note that such A phrases are conventionally distinguished in calligraphy by being written in the *nasx* script, as opposed to the *nasta'līq* employed for U and P. Examples may be seen in the texts of **3, 6** and **13.**

8. The Persian Component

The status for so long enjoyed by P as the premier language of Indo-Muslim civilization (12–21) continues to be reflected in the immense importance of the P component in U, particularly in vocabulary, in processes of word-formation, and in the syntax of many common types of phrase. Although the deliberate differentiation of H through Sanskritization has naturally resulted in a much lower prominence for its P component, a great many common P words, e.g. *dost* 'friend' or *nān* 'flat bread', continue to be used in all natural styles of H, many of whose syntactic structures also continue to be influenced by the underlying example of P. The P component of H is, in other words, of much greater significance than the minimal S component of U.

The historic spread of P far beyond its homeland in the central Iranian province of Fars, which gave the language its name *fārsī*, was surely due in large part to its intrinsic simplicity. If HU can be reasonably compared in terms of difficulty to prospective learners with Italian or Spanish, P is more like E. Having a remarkably straightforward phonemic system and nouns

without genders or cases, P must have proved even more readily acceptable in India thanks to its intrinsic character as one of the nearest cousins of the NIA group to which HU belongs. Several common words are identical, e.g. *andar* 'inside' or *do* 'two': and many more are obviously closely related, e.g. P *cahār* = HU *cār* 'four'.

A general understanding of this intrinsic closeness between P and HU is taken for granted in the following paragraphs, which also assume a similar understanding of the status of P as a composite language that already incorporated many A elements before its transfer to India. Such elements are marked as 'A' where appropriate below.

81. Phonology

Like all languages long imported into alien speech-territory, the P of South Asia has come to assume a number of archaic and locally-determined features. The following descriptions of P are therefore to be understood as relating to Indo-Persian, which is quite as different from the modern P of Iran as Indian E is from the contemporary E of Britain or of the United States.

This consideration applies particularly to the phonology of the vowels, where Indo-Persian has the same 10-term system as HU, i.e. *a ā i ī u ū e ai o au*, with an amalgamation in pronunciation of the common written final *-â* with *-ā*, and with the possibility of the final nasalization *-ṅ*. This convenient congruence with IA norms has long been lost in standard Iranian pronunciation, and is one of the main reasons for the difficulties experienced by those South Asians who can still speak P in conversing with Iranians.

While the 23-term system of consonantal phonemes is both simpler and much closer to HU than the characteristically Semitic pattern of the A consonants (71), the typically Iranian preference for fricatives — as opposed to the IA distinction of aspirated consonants (51) — is notably different from HU. Features to notice in the following table, therefore, include — besides the *q* imported from A — both the way in which the oddly assorted A series of 'simple' plosive consonants is filled out by the P phonemes *g c p*, which demanded intrinsic modifications of the A alphabet to write P, and the very full set of fricative consonants, demanding only the addition of a letter to write *ž* to the A alphabet, but to be transferred only with some difficulty to the norms of IA pronunciation so accurately reflected in the Nagari writing-system (511). For the sake of clarity, the table disregards the A letters already assimilated to P phonemes (71):

p پ	t ت	c چ	k ک	q ق
b ب	d ر	j ج	g گ	
m م	n ن			
f ف	s س	š ش	x خ	
v و	z ز	ž ژ	ğ غ	
	r ر	y ی		h ه
	l ل			

The syllabic structure of P is quite close to that of A: in this respect it resembles HU rather than S. There are no initial clusters, and no medial clusters of more than two members, nor any final short vowels. Two-member final consonant-clusters are, however, very common: these are easily assimilated to HU norms when the first member is a sibilant, e.g. *dost* 'friend', somewhat more awkwardly when it is a distinctively P fricative, e.g. *daraxt* 'tree', liable to be pronounced by speakers careless of proper U usage as e.g. *darakhat*.

811. Script

Apart from the addition of letters to write the P phonemes *p c ž g* absent from A phonology, which subsequently provided the model for the addition to the alphabet of modified characters to write the U phonemes *ṭ ḍ ṛ*, the A script proved intrinsically quite well adapted to the writing of P.

Subsequent phonetic changes have resulted in only a few historically determined ambiguities in the spelling of P loan-words in U, notably the redundant writing of *vāo* after initial *xe*, e.g.:

xud	pr. self	*xuš*	adj. happy

These historical spellings continue to reflect the long-obsolete pronunciations *xwad* and *xwaš*, cf. U *xwāb* 'dream'.

The A script also had to be adapted to record that most characteristic of P constructions, the izāfat *-i* which is normally pronounced in Indo-P and U as *-e* (841), and so written in Nagari where it occurs in P phrases in H. U spelling-rules for the izafat are adapted from P, and may be summarized as follows:

(a) after a consonant, the optional writing of *zer* is regularly reproduced in the text of the U passages in this book, e.g.:

barr-e sağīr	m. subcontinent
qāid-e a'zam	m. 'Great Leader', i.e. Jinnah

(b) after final *-â* or *-ī*, the standard P and U notation of *hamzâ* over *he* or *ye* is followed, e.g.:

sarmāyâ-e alfāz	m. stock of words, vocabulary
vādī-e sindh	f. the Indus Valley

(c) after final *-ā* or *-ū*, the standard U practice of writing *baṛī ye* after *hamzâ* is observed, e.g.:

daryā-e sindh	m. the River Indus
urdū-e mu'allā	f. the Exalted Camp

Finally, while the A script is admirably suited to indicate the Semitic process of root-modification, it copes much less well with long polysyllables of the kind which result from the Indo-European preference for word-formation through compounds. Hence the practice of breaking such compounds into their constituent elements in P and U orthography,

e.g.:

P	*kitāb-faroš*	m.	bookseller
S	*janam-bhūm*	f.	birthplace
E	*ṭāip-rāiṭar*	m.	typewriter

82. Lexicon

The close genetic relationship between the Iranian and the IA groups within Indo-European, illustrated by the obvious similarity between many pairs of P and HU words (8), is to be seen in such etymological rules as that which establishes the correspondence of Iranian *h- -ft- d* with IA *s- -pt- dh*, hence:

P *haft*	num.	seven	=	S *sapta* > HU *sāt*	num.	seven
P hind	m.	India	=	S *sindhu* > HU *sindh*	m.	Indus, Sind

Except in the language of classical P poetry (in its turn largely transferred to U poetry), however, it must be remembered that this native P vocabulary tends to be outweighed by the huge numbers of A borrowings and the many composite PA forms developed therefrom. P also incorporates a few loan-words from Turkish, some of which have been transferred to HU, e.g. the name *urdū* itself, *qulī* 'porter', or *qaiṅcī* 'scissors', besides the agentive suf. *-cī* found in *bāvarcī* 'cook' or *tabalcī* 'tabla-player'.

But P is extremely rich in native processes of word-formation, through the use of prefixes, suffixes, and compounds. In this respect, P is quite comparable to S (62), although it lacks the archaic S features of *sandhi* or *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. U therefore draws upon the rich resources of P word-formation in the same way that H does upon those provided by S, to make up for the meagre patterns provided by the native HU component (523). Not only have great numbers of P and PA derivative forms been historically assimilated into U, but it is also P patterns of word-formation which are chiefly relied upon in the coinage of U neologisms calqued upon E, e.g.:

taraqqī-pazīr	adj. developing ('progress-receiving')
taraqqī-yāftâ	adj. developed ('progress-found')
ğair-taraqqī-yāftâ	adj. undeveloped ('non-progress-found')

821. Prefixes

Although P prefixes function in the same way as those of S (621) in the formation of derivatives, typically converting a noun into an adj., most of them also have an independent status in the language as adj., adv., or prepn. (843). The commonest P pref. include:

(a) *bā-* 'with', typically the opposite of (c) *be-*:

A *qā'idâ*	m.	rule		*bā-qā'idâ*	adj.	regular
A *murād*	f.	desire		*bā-murād*	adj.	as wished for

(b) *bad-* 'bad', typically the opposite of (d) *xūb-* or (e) *xuš-*:

A *tamīz*	f.	manners	*bad-tamīz*	adj.	rude
A *sūrat*	f.	form	*bad-sūrat*	adj.	ugly

(c) *be-* 'without', one of the commonest negative pref.:

A *qā'idâ*	m.	rule	*be-qā'idâ*	adj.	irregular
kār	m.	work	*be-kār*	adj.	unemployed

(d) *xūb-* 'good':

A *sūrat*	f.	form	*xūb-sūrat*	adj.	beautiful

(e) *xuš-* 'happy, nice' (cf. S *su-* 621u):

bū	f.	smell	*xuš-bū*	f.	fragrance
A *qismat*	f.	fortune	*xuš-qismat*	adj.	fortunate

(f) A *ğair-* 'other', very common in the sense of E 'un-':

A *mutavāzī*	adj.	balanced	*ğair-mutavāzī*	adj.	unbalanced
A *matlūb*	adj.	desired	*ğair-matlūb*	adj.	undesired

(g) *kam-* 'less':

zor	m.	strength	*kam-zor*	adj.	weak
A *sin*	m.	age	*kam-sin*	adj.	young

(h) A *lā-* 'not', another common negative pref.:

A *sānī*	adj.	second	*lā-sānī*	adj.	unequalled
A *ta-'āvun*	m.	cooperation	*lā-ta'āvun*	m.	non-cooperation

(i) *nā-* 'not', with *be-* the commonest negative pref.:

gavārā	adj.	pleasant	*nā-gavār*	adj.	unpleasant
A *vāqif*	adj.	acquainted	*nā-vāqif*	adj.	unacquainted

(j) *ham-* 'co-, con-' (cf. S *sama-* 621s):

A *ma'ne*	mp.	meaning	*ham-ma'ne*	adj.	synonymous
A *vatan*	m.	country	*ham-vatan*	m.	compatriot

Although the independent status of many of these pref. blurs their distinction from the P compounds of the *bahuvrīhi* type (825c), the frequency with which e.g. *xuš-* or *kam-* are used in word-formation makes it sensible to treat them under this heading.

822. Suffixes

A great number of suffixes are simply inbuilt into P, in the sense that they exist in several words without generating new forms: this type of bound suf. is of course equally characteristic of HU (522). P examples include:

(a) *-ār*, used to form f. nouns from verbal roots:

raft-	going	*raftār*	f.	movement
guft-	talking	*guftār*	f.	speech

(b) *-iš*, a very common alternative to (a):

āmez-	mixing	*āmeziš*	f.	mixture
koš-	trying	*košiš*	f.	effort

Other such bound suf. are used to derive adj. from nouns, e.g.:

(c) *-mand*:

dāniš	f.	wisdom	*dāniš-mand*	adj.	intellectual
hoš	f.	sense	*hoš-mand*	adj.	sensible

Besides such numerous bound suf., there is also a smaller number of P. suf. which continue to generate derived words in U. These fall into two formal classes, the first serving to generate adj., the second nouns. The commonest adj. suf. are:

(d) *-ānâ*, added to both nouns and adj. to generate fresh forms, often patterned on E '-ly, -ical, -al', e.g.:

dost	m.	friend	*dostānâ*	adj.	friendly
A *šā'ir*	m.	poet	*šā'irānâ*	adj.	poetical
A *falsafī*	adj.	philosophic	*falsafīyānâ*	adj.	philosophical

(e) *-â*, an adj. extension with various functions in U, including semantic differentiation, e.g.:

A *maujūd*	adj.	present	*maujūdâ*	adj.	current

This P *-â* is, however, most frequently used in U to distinguish adj. not so much in meaning as in their use as qualifiers before a noun, e.g. *muqarrarâ vaqt par* 'at the appointed time', vs. the predicative *vaqt muqarrar ho gayā* 'the time was appointed'. The suf. is to be distinguished from the graphically identical *-â* which marks the f. of the A adj. (735).

(f) *-ī*, the exceedingly common adj. suf. which P shares with A, and which consequently marks huge numbers of adj. in U:

berūn	adv.	outside	*berūnī*	adj.	external
pākistān	m.	Pakistan	*pākistānī*	adj.	Pakistani

Nouns ending in *-â* produce adj. with the written ending *-āī*:

A *sūbâ*	m.	province	*sūbāī*	adj.	provincial
A *'ilāqâ*	m.	locality	*'ilāqāī*	adj.	local

The commonest suf. of the second class, used to generate nouns, is formally identical:

(g) *-ī*, the standard marker of abstract nouns derived from P adj., in U equivalent in function with the extended A *-iyat* (722):

bihtar	adj.	better	*bihtarī*	f.	welfare
xūb	adj.	good	*xūbī*	f.	excellence

Adj. ending in *-â*, whether this is intrinsic or determined by the addition of the suf. (e) *-â*, regularly follow this pattern with the special termination *-agī*:

	šāistâ	adj. cultured	*šāistagī*	f.	culture
PA	*maujūdâ*	adj. current	*maujūdagī*	f.	currency, presence

This nominal suf. *-ī* is applied in U with complete freedom to derived adj. of all types, whether formed by prefixation (821) or the suffixation of P verbal elements (823):

PA	*taraqqī-yāftâ*	adj. developed	*taraqqī-yāftagī*	f.	development
PA	*xuš-ušlūb*	adj. elegant	*xuš-uslūbī*	f.	elegance

Other P nominal suf. are more specialized in function, e.g.:

(h) *-dān* m. or *-dānī* f. 'receptacle for':

A	*qalam*	f.	pen	*qalam-dān*	m. pen-case
HU	*nas*	m.	snuff	*nas-dānī*	f. snuff-box

(i) *-zādâ* m. 'son of':

A	*navvāb*	m.	prince	*navvāb-zādâ*	m. princeling

This in turn produces the U suf. *-zādī* f. 'daughter of':

	šāh	m.	king	*šah-zādī*	f. princess

(j) *-stān* m. 'home of' (= S *-sthān*):

	pāk	adj.	pure	*pākistān*	m. Pakistan
	hindū	m.	Hindu	*hindustān*	m. India

(k) *-gāh* f. 'place of':

A	*dars*	m.	teaching	*dars-gāh*	f. college
	dast	m.	hand	*dast-gāh*	f. grasp

While many other P nominal suf. may be distinguished in U, it is often hard to place them in a formally separate compartment from P compounds of the *karmadhāraya* type (825b), given their additional status as independent words, e.g. *xānâ* m. 'drawer', besides numerous suf. uses as in *dāk-xānâ* 'post office' or *'ajāib-xānâ* m. 'museum'.

823. Verbal suffixes

The P pref. and suf. types so far described for U largely overlap with the S types so actively employed in H (621–2). U also, however, makes much use of a special type of P suf., those derived from the P verb (834).

Although P verbs are often closely related to their HU opposite numbers in etymology and conjugation, their main parts are differently classified. Most HU verbs follow the regular model of *ānā* 'to come', from which the stem *ā-* and the past ptc. *āyā* can be regularly derived: only a few follow the

pattern of *jānā* 'to go', with the regular stem *jā-* but the irregular past ptc. *gayā* 'gone'. The P verb is rather different, since the inf. is formed from the past stem ending in *-d-* or *-t-*, e.g. *āmadan* 'to come', past ptc. *āmadâ* 'came', or *raftan* 'to go', past ptc. *raftâ* 'gone': and, like the majority of common P verbs, these form their present tenses from irregular bases, *ā-* 'coming' and *rau-* 'going'. It is these 'present-stems', sometimes matched by the corresponding past ptc., which furnish the majority of the P verbal suffixes in active use in U.

From the 50-odd P verbs so used in compound U nouns and adj., the following commonest examples may be cited as illustrations of typical word-building formations.

(a) *pasandīdan* 'to approve', pres. stem *pasand-* used in U to represent E '-ive, -ist':

A *taraqqī*	f.	progress	*taraqqī-pasand*	adj.	progressive
A *dahšat*	f.	terror	*dahšat-pasandī*	f.	terrorism

(b) *dāštan* 'to have', pres. stem *dār-* very commonly used in U as a simple adj. suf., with the f. derivative *-dārī*:

A *tamīz*	f.	manners	*tamīz-dārī*	f.	discretion
xuš-bū	f.	fragrance	*xuš-bū-dār*	adj.	fragrant

(c) *dānistan* 'to know', pres. stem *dān-*, not to be confused with the 'receptacle' suf. *-dān* (822h):

A *'arabī*	f.	Arabic	*'arabī-dān*	adj.	Arabic-knowing
fārsī	f.	Persian	*fārsī-dānī*	f.	knowing Persian
A *qadar*	f.	worth	*qadar-dān*	m.	patron

(d) *dīdan* 'to see', with the quite irregular pres. stem *bīn-*:

jahān	m.	world	*jahāṅ-dīdâ*	adj.	experienced
dūr	adv.	far	*dūr-bīn*	m.	telescope

(e) *mālīdan* 'to rub', pres. stem *māl-*:

pā	m.	foot	*pā-māl*	adj.	trampled
rū	m.	face	*rū-māl*	m.	handkerchief
goš	m.	ear	*goš-mālī*	f.	punishment

(f) *yāftan* 'to find', pres. stem *yāb-*:

A *taraqqī*	f.	progress	*taraqqī-yāftâ*	adj.	developed
dast	m.	hand	*dast-yāb*	adj.	obtainable
kām	m.	desire	*kām-yāb*	adj.	successful

824. Numerals

The lower P numerals, whose etymological relationship to their HU counterparts has been indicated above (82), are very frequently used in U where E favours a Roman numeral, e.g. 'George VI', 'volume II', etc., exactly as H favours the use of S numerals in similar contexts (624). This is particularly true of the P ordinals, formed with the suf. *-um*:

	Cardinals	Ordinals
I	*yak*	A *avval*
II	*do*	*dovum*
III	*se*	*sivvum*
IV	*cahār*	*cahārum*
V	*panj*	*panjum*
VI	*šiš*	*šišum*
VII	*haft*	*haftum*
VIII	*hašt*	*haštum*
IX	*nuh*	*nuhum*
X	*dah*	*dahum*

The established A loan *avval* 'first' is sometimes supplemented, e.g. in king-lists, by the following A ordinals *sānī* 'second', *sālis* 'third', *rābiʿ* 'fourth', *xāmis* 'fifth', etc.

Higher numerals are seldom encountered, except for the standard *hazār* 'thousand'.

825. Compounds

The formal categories into which S compounds are slotted (625) are less tidily applied to the classification of P compounds, given the overlap with the various types of derivatives formed by the prefixes and suffixes described above (831–3).

(a) *dvandva*-compounds are effectively replaced in P by phrases joined with the copula *o* 'and' (842), e.g. *xušī o ǧam* 'joy and sorrow', vs. S *sukha-duḥkha*.

(b) Most P words that might be assigned to the *tatpuruṣa* category may equally be treated as suffixed derivatives (822). But the *dvigu*-type, whose first element is a P numeral, is well represented in compounds also incorporating P, HU, or A components, e.g.:

P + P	*cahār-šambâ*	m.	Wednesday ('day 4')
P + HU	*se-pahar*	m.	afternoon ('watch 3')
P + A	*yak-tarfâ*	adj.	one-sided

(c) *bahuvrīhi*-compounds of various types, though similarly hardly distinct from many pref.-formations (821), yield many P adj., e.g.:

PA	*pur-fāidâ*	adj.	edifying ('full of benefit')
P	*zabar-dast*	adj.	overwhelming ('upper-handed')

83. Morphology

While P is historically much richer than HU in resources for word-formation, it is much simpler in grammatical structure. It is therefore possible to treat the substantial influence of morphologically-derived P forms on U, also far from negligible in H, in terms of lexically conditioned items.

831. Nouns

P nouns have no distinction of gender, and virtually none of case (unless the object-marker *-rā* is treated as synonymous with the HU ppn. *ko*). There are two types of p., both of which appear only in the most formal U styles:

(a) *-āṅ* for animate nouns:

	dānišmand	m.	intellectual	*dānišmandāṅ*	mp.	intellectuals
A	*'āqil*	m.	wise man	*'āqilāṅ*	mp.	the wise

The p. of animate P nouns ending in *-â* appears as *-agāṅ*:

baccâ	m.	child	*baccagāṅ*	mp.	children

(b) *-hā* for inanimate nouns:

A	*kitāb*	f.	book	*kitāb-hā*	fp.	books

This p. ending is more frequently used in adv. phrases in U, and may be added therein to HU nouns:

	bār	f.	time	*bār-hā*	adv.	time after time
HU	*baras*	m.	year	*baras-hā baras*	adv.	year after year
	hazār	num.	thousand	*hazār-hā*	adv.	thousands of

As the last example shows, this P *-hā* is often used as a learned equivalent of the specialized functions of the HU obl. p. *-oṅ*, e.g. *hazāroṅ* 'thousands of'.

832. Adjectives

Although simple P adj. do not decline, they share with E the regular pattern of a comparative form in *-tar* '-er' and a superlative in *-tarīn* '-est'. The commonest examples in U are:

xūb	good	*bih-tar*	better	*bih-tarīn*	best
bad	bad	*bad-tar*	worse	*bad-tarīn*	worst

Since HU lacks any mark of distinction between the comparative and superlative degrees, such P adj. forms tend to be treated in U as intensives of the same type as the single A elative degree (735).

The P comparative suf. *-tar* thus generates a few intensive adv. in U, e.g.:

A	*ziyādâ*	adv. more	*ziyādâ-tar*	adv. mostly
	kam	adv. less	*kam-tar*	adv. seldom

The P comparative construction employs the prepn. *az* which is directly comparable to the HU ppn. *se* 'from, than' but also involves the use of the comparative suf. *-tar*, e.g. the equivalent renderings of the tag 'the excuse is worse than the sin':

P *'uzr bad-tar az gunāh ast*
U *'uzr gunāh se burā hai*

833. Pronouns

While the general rule of comparative linguistics which states that languages are seldom influenced in such basic components as pronouns by other languages is almost universally true, the profound influence of P upon U is illustrated by such completely assimilated pronominal loans as *xud* 'self' for HU *āp*, *cand* or PA *ba'z* for HU *koī* 'some', and the P *har* 'every' in *har koī* or *har kuch* for HU *sab koī* 'everyone' or *sab kuch* 'everything'.

Otherwise, the organization of personal pronouns in P is very similar to that of HU, although the genuine 3rd person s. pr. *o* 'he, she, it' exists in P alongside the frequently employed demonstratives *āṅ* (= HU *vo*) 'that' and *īṅ* (= HU *ye*) 'this'.

834. Verbs

The conjugation of P verbs is determined by the basic contrast between the pres. and the past stem (823). Although personal forms of the P verb seldom appear in U except in set loan-tags, it is useful to have a picture of the basic paradigms, as illustrated by the common verb *dādan* 'to give', pres. stem *dih-*:

dihandâ pres. ptc. giving — *dādâ* past ptc. given

mī-diham	1s.	I give	*dādam*	1s.	I gave
mī-dihī	2s.	you give	*dādī*	2s.	you gave
mī-dihad	3s.	he gives	*dād*	3s.	he gave
mī-dihīm	1p.	we give	*dādīm*	1p.	we gave
mī-dihīd	2p.	you give	*dādī*	2p.	you gave
mī-dihand	3p.	they give	*dādand*	3p.	they gave

Apart from their function as suffixes in word-formation (823), verbal stems appear independently in a few common U nouns, e.g. the doublets *just-jū* f. 'search' and *guft-gū* f. 'conversation'.

The participles have a certain artificial independence in the most Persianized styles of U, e.g. *in'ām-dihandâ* 'prize giver' for the inf. ptc. *in'ām dene-vālā*, but are more genuinely restricted to a number of common adj. loans. The pres. ptc. has the ending *-indâ* after vowel-stems, e.g. *āindâ* 'coming', used in U as an adj. 'next': cf. the P phrase from the Pakistani

national anthem *pākistān pāindâ bād* 'may Pakistan endure!'. (The 3s. *bād* 'may it be!' also occurs in the common HU expression *mubārak-bād* 'congratulations!' Another specialized P 3s. is the HU adv. *šāyad* 'perhaps'.)

Many P past ptc., ending in *-dâ* or *-tâ*, appear as adj. in U, e.g. *šāistâ* 'cultured', *guzaštâ* 'past, last', besides such compounds as *pas-māndâ* 'backward' or *in'ām-yaftâ* 'prize-winning'. The past ptc. *raftâ* 'gone' is used as an adv. in U *raftâ raftâ* 'gradually'.

84. Syntax

If P resembles S in its rich patterns of word-formation, it is more like E not only in the simplicity of its morphology, but also in the apparent simplicity of its syntax, several of whose most characteristic phrasal constructions are regularly used in U. More generally, the continuing overt debt of U to P is directly reflected in many features of U syntax: and the same patterns continue to characterize H syntax also, even if P words may have been replaced by S loans.

841. Izafat Phrases

Rules for writing the izafat *-e* in the U script are explained above (811). In meaning, the izafat has two principal functions in P: the indication of a possessive relationship between two nouns, or the qualification of a noun by an adj. In both types, the P word-order is the reverse of the comparable HU constructions.

Izafat phrases of noun + noun correspond to those linked by *kā* in HU, e.g. *šurafā-e lakhnaū* mp. 'the gentlemen of Lucknow' for *lakhnaū ke šurafā*. Although formally of this type, phrases headed by the PA *ahl-e* 'people of' are effectively used as compounds in U, e.g. *ahl-e zabān* mp. 'native speakers', or *ahl-e mağrib* mp. 'Westerners'.

Izafat phrases of noun + adj. similarly follow the reverse order of words from HU, e.g. *zamānâ-e darāz* m. 'a long time', vs. *lambā vaqt*. Many izafat phrases of this type also are effectively used as compounds in U, e.g. *barr-e sagīr* m. 'subcontinent', from A *barr* 'continent' + A *sagīr* 'small'.

A third possibility provided by the flexible izafat is the linkage of adj. + noun, e.g. *sar-garm-e safar* 'actively embarked on the journey': but this is less common than the two main types. The frequency with which izafat phrases are employed is one of the most obvious indicators of a Persianized style in U, whose heaviest varieties may occasionally resort to phrases of more than two members, e.g. *ahl-e zabān-e lakhnaū* 'the native speakers of Lucknow'.

842. Copular Phrases

The P copula *o* tends to be restricted in U to a number of common phrases which effectively function as compounds of fresh meaning, e.g.:

āb o havā	f.	climate ('water & air')
āmad o raft	f.	traffic ('coming & going')
našv o numā	f.	development ('growth & production')

843. Prepositional Phrases

Like A, but unlike HU, P has prepositions. These frequently appear as the first members of loan-phrases in U, typically adverbial in sense, just like the A prepositional phrases (742). The commonest simple P prepositions include:

(a) *az* 'from, than':

az sar-e nau	afresh ('from a new head')
kam az kam	at least ('less than less')

Compare the HU synonyms *nae sire se* and *kam se kam*.

(b) *ba-* 'by, with', to be distinguished from A [bi-] 'in, on' (742), but similarly often written together with the following word:

ba-xūbī	well ('with excellence')
ba-rāh-e rāst	directly ('by the straight path')
roz ba-roz	day by day

The last type of reduplicated adv. phrase gives rise to fresh formations incorporating native HU words, e.g. the HU synonym *din ba-din* 'day by day', or *pīṛhī ba-pīṛhī* 'generation by generation'.

(c) *bar* 'on':

bar-pā	afoot ('on foot')
bar-zabān	by heart ('on the tongue')

(d) *dar* 'in':

dar asl	in fact
dar miyān	in between

844. Compound Prepositions

Besides these simple prepositions, comparable in number to the small HU set *kā*, *ko*, *tak*, *par*, *meṅ*, *se*, P has a large number of compound prepositions.

Typically linked to the following noun by the possessive izafat, these may be simple words, e.g. *mānind-e* or *misl-e* 'like', or compounds introduced by a simple prepn., e.g. *ba-jā-e* 'in place of', *ba-taur-e* 'by way of', *bar-xilāf-e* 'in opposition to', *bar-vazn-e* 'on the pattern of'.

In older U prose, such compound prepositions are frequently encountered, either in their purely P form with the izafat, or as prepositions without the izafat but with *ke* written after the noun. The modern preference for full loan-translations as ppn. headed by *ke* or *kī* thus took some time to become fully established. The process may be illustrated by successive versions of the phrase 'like other poets':

mānind-e šā'irān-e dīgar	(P)
mānind aur šā'iroṅ ke	(older U)
aur šā'iroṅ kī mānind	(modern U)

Although the intrinsic formation of compound postpositions is native to the NIA component of HU, a great many individual items have been transferred from P compound prepositions by this somewhat roundabout route. Direct loan-translations in U have often been further adapted in H by the substitution of S loans, e.g. P *ba-taur-e* > U *ke taur par* > H *ke prakār* 'by way of, like', or P *qābil-e* > U *ke qābil* > H *ke yogya* 'worthy of'.

A few P prepositions are compounded with *az* 'from' instead of the linking izafat, e.g. *peš az* 'before'. This may account for the exclusive U preference for *se pahle*, vs. the possibility of *ke pahle* in H.

845. Phrase-verbs

In exactly the same way as H and U have adapted their modern loans from E to function as verbs by the addition to nouns and adjectives of *karnā* or *honā*, e.g. *ṭelīfon karnā* 'to telephone' or *pās honā* 'to pass', so too did P expand the relatively small stock of its native verbal stems by adding *kardan* 'to do' or *šudan* 'to become' to great numbers of A loan-nouns and adj. Although it is not always possible to determine the order of historical priority, the influence of P in the development of many HU phrase-verbs is certainly often comparable to that described above for compound ppn. sets (844), e.g. P *rāzī kardan* > U *rāzī karnā* > H *santuṣṭ karnā* 'to satisfy', similarly P *rāzī šudan* > U *rāzī honā* > H *santuṣṭ honā* 'to be satisfied'.

846. Sentence-structure

In terms of its typical sentence-structure, P is much closer to HU than to E or A (743), since it has the order SOV. Historically, however, P was developed much earlier than either H or U as a language of high culture and official administration, and the intrinsic resources of its syntax were correspondingly developed to meet the requirements of formal written expression. It is for this reason that the P component of HU extends beyond the familiar loan-categories of nouns and adj. to embrace not only compound postpositions and phrase-verbs or adv. and intj. like *šāyad* 'perhaps' and *kāš* 'if only!', but also the conjunctions which form the basic link-elements in the structure of the complex HU sentence.

The native HU preference is for the linking of clauses in parallel parataxis, e.g. *jo...*, *vo...* or *jab...*, *to...*, and for the linking of sentences through the enclitic particles *bhī* or *to* (54). More sophisticated clause linkages are largely expressed in U by the use of P loan-conjunctions, whose syntactic function is exactly reproduced in H by S substitutions.

The basic P conjunction is *ki* 'that', equally used in U and H to introduce reported direct speech. It also appears in many P compound conjunctions used in U, e.g. *balki* 'but rather', *bā-vujūde-ki* 'in spite of', *tā-ki* 'so that', *cūṅki* 'since', not to speak of the familiar HU *kyoṅki* 'because'. The P marker *-ci* functions similarly in the formation of *cunāṅci* 'accordingly', or the extension of P *agar* 'if' to form *agarci* 'although', exactly synonymous in U with *hālāṅki*. Although H *yadi* 'if' and *yadyapi* 'although' are impeccably S in appearance, they are better understood as deliberately introduced loan-conversions from the P conjunctions, preserved in U, which did so much to facilitate the officialese of the Mughal chanceries.

9. The English Component

The history of English in South Asia since the mid-eighteenth century is in many ways remarkably similar to the preceding role of Persian from the thirteenth century until after 1800. Both languages are of Indo-European origin, both grammatically rather simple, both initially implanted as colonial media in the Indo-Aryan territory of Hindi-Urdu, both then eagerly cultivated locally. The double process of adoption and adaptation which once led Indo-Persian to emerge as a fossilized variant of High Urdu (and the tacit formulation of its Sanskritized rival) was largely repeated. 'Indian English' is as immediately a target for simple fun from a British perspective as the Persian of Delhi once was to the nice critics of Shiraz: and the contemporary Hindi of India or the official Urdu of Pakistan are hardly to be savoured without an awareness of the process which has fostered their emergence as twin look-alikes of the English of the Raj, to whose deliberate replacement so much of the energies of the architects of Independence was once dedicated.

91. Phonology

E contrasts quite sharply with HU, both in the phonemic distribution of vowels and consonants, and in syllabic structures. Although equally Indo-European, E is thus much further removed from HU than P.

It is assumed that users of this book will be familiar with the complex system of E vowel-phonemes (often involving dipthongal realizations), and the many consequent simplifications involved in the pronunciation and spelling of E loans in HU. Attention need only be drawn to the amalgamation of three E phonemes, i.e. /ɔ/ as in 'lorry', /ɔ:/ as in 'law', with /a:/ as in 'laugh', yielding HU *ā* in *lārī, lā* and *lāf* and a similar realization of all the vowels except the last in the phrase *pāl skāṭs lāsṭ nāval* 'Paul Scott's last novel'.

Although E consonant-phonemes are more simply organized, HU adaptations sometimes involve slightly confusing transfers. These are best understood by reference to the following table of E phonemes:

	k	ch	t		p
	g	j	d		b
	ng (/ŋ/)	n	m		
			th (/θ/)		f
		y	th (/ð/)	w	v
h		sh	s		
		zh (/ʒ/)	z		
			r		
			l		

The E contrast between /v/ and /w/ is notoriously difficult for HU speakers, for most of whom E 'very wide vowel' is an impossible tongue-twister; the problem is exacerbated for those speakers prone to substituting

b for *v* in stressed positions. Other problems concern the sibilant fricatives. 'Bridges' is quite difficult for many H-speakers who lack the contrast between *j* and *z*, while 'pleasures' is unattainable for all but the most sophisticated U-speakers who carefully distinguish *ž* and *z*. The varying realisation of E 's' as /s/ or /z/ depending on position causes much confusion, as in the spelling *mises* for 'Mrs'.

The de-aspiration of the E consonant sounds /k/, /ch/, /t/ and /p/ is quite marked in HU pronunciations of loans such as *kār* 'car', *carc* 'church', *ṭāip* 'type' and *pin* 'pin'. The first of these examples also demonstrates the universal HU tendency to realize the full phonetic value of final '*-r*' in loans where it is silent in British E.

The main area to be noted is, however, that of the very marked contrast between the dental consonants, where HU *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh t th d dh* correspond rather erratically with E /t d/ and the grapheme 'th' which represents either the unvoiced */θ/* as in 'three' or the voiced */δ/* as in 'the'. Outrageously transmitted loan-spellings tend to reflect the following pattern (as borne out by HU realizations of e.g. 'the third director' as *dī tharḍ ḍāirekṭar*):

E	/t/	>	HU	/ṭ/	e.g.	*ṭāim*	time
	/d/			/ḍ/		*ḍīar*	Dear
	/θ/			/th/		*thiaṭar*	theatre
	/δ/			/d/		*brādarz*	Bros

Many of the most well-established HU loans from E, however, diverge from this strict pattern. In some cases it is reasonable to postulate the influence of prior assault on Indian ears of European languages with less retroflexing pronunciations of /t/ and /d/, e.g: both HU *botal* and *pādrī*, which presumably reflect Portuguese '*boutelha*' and '*padre*' rather than the E /bɔtḷ/ and /pa:dri/. In others, which include many of the most fully assimilated loans from E employed in HU, it must be assumed that a possible retroflex has been replaced by a more congenial dental, e.g. HU *sitambar* 'September'.

Such 'Indianized' forms not infrequently form doublets with freshly-borrowed HU representations of the same E word, the well-established *aktūbar* and *amrīkā* for example having to compete with *akṭobar* and *amerikā*. A similar but rather more bizarre process is at work in the re-importation of Indian words in Anglicized forms, e.g. the use in HU of *iṇḍiyā* (whose retroflex *ḍ* betrays its passage through England despite its P origin), or of the name *ṭaigor* (E 'Tagore') alongside original *ṭhākur*.

Initial E consonant-clusters beginning with 's' are problematic for HU speakers, as is frequently demonstrated by the pronounced values of such essential E loans as 'station', 'school', 'street' 'state'. While NIA often explodes such consonant clusters, yielding pronunciations such as *siṭeśan*, clusters in initial position are more commonly resolved by the special device of a prothetic *i-*, giving *isṭeśan*, *iskūl*, *isṭrīṭ* and (confusingly) *isṭet*. In some instances this phonetic convenience is recognised orthographically in U, which has *isṭešan* as a standard spelling. H however prefers the spelling *sṭeśan*, regardless of its pronounced value; and the tendency for *s* before a retroflex consonant to pick up a retroflex quality also goes unrecognised in the written form.

911. Script

Both H and U are adept at utilizing their respective scripts to represent E loans. Nagari makes somewhat sporadic use of the superscript sign ◌̆ to represent E 'o' vowels alien to Indian phonology; but still without distinguishing /ɔ:/ from /a:/ (91).

The spellings of 'typewriter' in either H or U nicely illustrate the recourse which must be made to the use of independent Nagari vowels for H, or of *hamzâ* for U:

H टाइपराइटर U ٹائپ رائٹر

92. Lexicon

E clearly dominates a great range of semantic fields not represented in this book, whose passages are mostly selected from the works of writers whose chosen means of expression is H or U. A very different picture would have been presented if we had included examples of more journalistic usage such as a passage of either H or U film-criticism or cricket coverage, when *sāiḍ-hīro* and *kāvar-ḍrāiv* would doubtless have emerged as shared loan-compounds. The passages in this book, directed as they deliberately are towards high usage on both sides (no matter how well their writers knew E), tend to obscure this somewhat.

921. Word-building

Like P and S, E is a conveniently word-building language, with the further benefit of the orthographic device of the hyphen (complementing in U the inherited P convention of showing word-breaks between the elements of a compound (811)). Transfers to HU should need little spelling-out to E-speakers, who should readily be able to decipher such phrases as *incārj maiṭarniṭī sekśan*.

922. Use of English Loans

The most obvious category of E loans comprises nouns imported along with the object they designate: many of these belong to the areas of technology and administration, with well-established words such as *ṭelīfon/ṭelīfūn* and *jaj* resisting the competition of PA- or S-based neologisms. Such loans are extremely common and call for little comment; but the extent to which they are absorbed sometimes varies between H and U. Thus while U prefers the E loans *graimar* and *nāval* ('grammar' and 'novel'), H uses S *vyākaraṇ* for the former and S *upanyās* (lit. 'statement, setting down') for the latter. But certain words have become so well accepted that they are allowed to rub shoulders with formal S (or PA) loans, as in the title of India's prestigious *saṅgīt nāṭak akāḍemī* 'Academy of Music and Drama'.

More far-reaching in their cultural implications are those E loans which in particular contexts are felt to be more apposite than their HU synonyms. The word *freṅḍ* neatly circumvents the gender-specific connotations of HU *dost* and *sahelī*, and in so doing, defuses the potentially explosive connotations of relationships outside the family (often *faimilī* rather than H *parivār* or U *xāndān*, especially if the domestic group is a nuclear rather than an extended one). Though such usages are especially prevalent in the

HU-speaking diaspora, they are also common enough back home in India (so frequently referred to as *iṇḍiyā*, a name which avoids the implications both of *bhārat* (implying the Hindu-majority post-Independence republic) and of *hindustān* (often taken as referring principally to the northern part of the sub-continent with its associated legacy of Muslim culture).

The fondness for things Western which continues to thrive unabated in the subcontinent inevitably lends a certain attraction to such assumedly fashionable E colloquialisms as slang, nick-names and the softer swear-words; thus many a Hindu boy blessed with a polysyllabic S name such as Abhimanyu or Venkateshwar will be known universally as 'Bobby' or 'Sonny', and will revel in the sophistication of expressions such as *ḍām* (or *ḍaim*) and *bladī* — the latter not restricted to adj./adv. usage but also soldiering on alone as an expletive. A few E words have filtered through almost all levels of education and social class, and if the circumstances demanded it there would be few whose affirmative answer to a question could not be given as a resounding *yas!*.

There is a large class of E loans which either no longer form a part of current standard E or have never done so. Bobby, who wears *hāf-paiṅṭ* ('half-pant', i.e. shorts) made from a *kaṭ-pīs* ('cut-piece', i.e. remnant of cloth from the end of a roll), breakfasts on *ḍabal roṭī* ('double bread', i.e. a loaf of the Western type, presumably so-called because it is made from twice-risen dough), and then perhaps does his homework in his *kāpī* ('copy', i.e. exercise book).

923. Calques from English

The policy of substituting E terminology with HU coinings continues apace, albeit with varying degrees of success; but the widely-used calques from E are not subject to the same process, their veneer of PA or S usually being sufficient to pass them off as genuine autochthonous forms. Most passages of modern prose will yield examples such as the U *yak-tarfâ* for 'one-sided', the H *ek śabd dhanyavād kā* for 'a word of thanks', and the HU *savāl uṭhtā hai* for 'the question arises'. The very term used by H grammarians for such loan-translations, *udhār anuvād*, is itself an example of its own class.

The ultimate relationship of HU with its distant cousin E occasionally throws up formal parallels such as that between Latin-derived E 'circumstance' and its S-derived H calque *paristhiti*; and the use of P or S prefixes facilitates the production of calques such as U *ğair-fiṭrī* 'unnatural' and *a-hindī-bhāṣī* 'non-H-speaking'.

A rather different category is that of expressions which have their own S or PA pedigree and yet whose usage is determined by E conventions. For example, the convenient formulae S *priy* and HU *tumhārā/āpkā* for 'Dear' and 'Your(s)' have a permanent place in the conventions of informal H letter-writing, with E *ḍīar* and U *piyāre* competing with A *mukarram* in U usage. And ironically — given the elaborate and extensive nature of honorific expressions in HU — it is E 'Mr' and 'Mrs' which provide the model for the modern uses of *śrī* and *śrīmatī* in H and of *janāb* and *begam* in U.

The excessively literal rendering of E terms into a HU guise often gives the more banal calques a somewhat comic quality, such as in H *bas-sevā* for 'bus service' (inappropriate because *sevā* implies the offering of deferential servitude rather than the provision of a public facility), H *sajjan kī sāikil*, sounding like 'the bicycle of a gentleman' rather than the intended 'gent's bicycle', and H *stambh-lekhak* for 'columnist', based on the S word for 'column' in the architectural context.

93. Morphology

Like the majority of loans from S or A and P, most E loans fall into the same HU word-classes of nouns and adjectives. By far the greatest number of E loans in effective use are s. nouns, many of which generate phrase-verbs through productive combination with *karnā*; e.g. *pās karnā* 'to pass', *cailinj karnā* 'to challenge', *ḍīpeṇḍ karnā* 'to depend' and even, in the video age, *fāsṭ-fārvaḍ karnā* 'to fast forward'. The use of E nouns in the formation of ppn. is restricted, and the relatively formal contexts of most of the HU passages included in this book do not provide examples of such unexpected colloquialisms as the ppn. *ke thrū* 'through' (in the sense 'through the offices of, by means of'). A similar restriction applies to the use of E morphemic suffixes such as '-s', '-ed', '-ing', '-er' etc., seldom encountered in HU except in such usages as *brādarz* 'Bros' (91) and *sanz* 'Sons', both common in HU company-names, and in rarer delights such as U *īvningar* 'evening paper'.

As in the case of loans from S (631) and from P and A (731) assignment of gender is generally determined by existing synonyms, e.g. *bas* and *kār* are both f. by analogy with *gāṛī*, while the f. gender of *pulis* 'police' is probably by analogy with S *senā* and/or the f. assigned in HU to A *fauj* 'army'.

The growing tendency in E to apply p. agreements to s. collective nouns ('the government are' etc.) is not carried through into HU loan usage, where s. concord is strictly followed not only with *sarkār/hukūmat/gavarnmeṅṭ* (or *gauṅrmeṅṭ*) but even with *pulis*. Conversely, some E pl. forms are borrowed into HU as though they were s., e.g. *mācis* f. 'match' and *darāz* f. 'drawer'.

Finally the extensive use made in modern HU of the numeral *ek* as equivalent to the E indefinite article may be noticed. Sentences such as *maiṅ ek ṭīcar hūṅ*, in which it is quite redundant, depend entirely on the E model, and elsewhere *ek* is often used as a substitute for *koī*.

94. Syntax

The intimately continuing symbiosis in South Asian linguistic reality hardly makes it sensible to distinguish individual syntactic elements, since so much conscious effort from both the H and U sides has gone into the demonstration that neither are the directly calqued reworkings of E that they can both so frequently be demonstrated to be. Many examples will be found ad loc. in the annotations to the later H and U passages.

While the extent to which E loans have infiltrated HU is demonstrably remarkable, there are of course numerous examples of parallel expressions being thrown up spontaneously by HU on the one hand and E on the

other: thus *hamešâ hamešâ ke liye* is not dependent upon the E equivalent 'for ever and ever', and in many instances where a connexion may be suspected it is unprovable.

'Indian English' is nevertheless still a dominant model for both H and U modern styles. Given the degree of bilingual command which exists between E and HU speakers at the higher end of the educational range, it is hardly surprising that calqued patternings on either side should resemble each other so closely.

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CDIAL — Turner, R.L., *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966)

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— the fullest study of India's national language question in its historical and political perspective.

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— a short literary history, designed for the general reader.

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— an assorted collection of articles on many aspects of NIA, particularly HU, by the Nizam's Reader in Urdu in the University of London.

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— gives not only an essential overview but also much fascinating detail in the discussion of NIA forms, and thus provides an excellent companion to the data given in CDIAL.

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— a triple study from a political science perspective, particularly illuminating in Part II (pp.119–274) which deals with the gradual abrogation of the privileged status of U in U.P. and Bihar c. 1860–1970: and in Part III (pp.277–400), which deals with the varied fortunes of HU and Panjabi in the Panjab.

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— brings a prodigious breadth of learning to various aspects of the development of Hindi in the context of NIA generally, though not always still reliable in detail.

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— a useful overall guide, with a particularly helpful explanation of sandhi rules on the tables facing p. 36.

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— the only Hindi grammar to attempt a synopsis of all the 'dialects', including Braj Bhāṣā, Avadhī and Nepali, with a wealth of tabulated comparative material.

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— a brief paper giving a succinct and perceptive summary of the emergence of new trends in Hindi literature.

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— masterly coverage of a wide range of literature, with useful chapter-introductions giving a clear picture of the main characteristics of the period and genres covered.

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— a collection of short profiles of the history and characteristics of the major NIA languages, including HU and their neighbours.

THE TEXTS

1
Mir Amman:
Bāğ o bahār (1801)

The growingly apparent need for British officials of the East India to have a working knowledge of Indian languages led in 1800 to the official decision to open a training College at Fort William in Calcutta. The post of 'Professor of Hindoostanee' was given to Dr. John Gilchrist (1759–1842), the enthusiastic author of several pioneering works with such picturesque titles as '*The Hindee Roman Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum*'.

One of Gilchrist's main duties was to oversee the production by the staff of munshis assigned to him of translations of suitable books from often flowery Persian into simple Urdu prose. While most of these Fort William versions have the lifeless quality to be expected in a series of officially-sponsored translations, one work stands as an exception to this general rule. This is the Urdu version of the Persian '*Tale of the Four Dervishes*' attributed to the great Amir Khusrau (d. 1325), produced by Mir Amman, the member of an old Delhi family of munshis who had been attracted to Calcutta by the prospect of British patronage for his skills.

The passage is taken from Mir Amman's introduction, in which he has already bewailed at some length the personal hardships he had suffered in the political turmoil of late eighteenth century India before finding his present haven. The first paragraph outlines his own understanding of the formation of Urdu as a consequence of the social intercourse between the Muslim military cantonment of Delhi and the Hindu shopkeepers who operated its bazaar. The second paragraph evokes, in somewhat rambling fashion, the past glories of the Mughal imperial capital: and the third moves on to pay graceful tribute to the discerning patronage afforded by Gilchrist to Mir Amman, who ends by briefly praising the vernacular speech of his native city.

The *Bāğ o bahār* (whose title not only means '*The Garden and the Spring*' but also incorporates a chronogram indicating the date of its composition) achieved a steady sale as a prescribed examination text-book until the end of the Raj, besides being reprinted many times in local editions to cater for its popularity amongst the Indian Urdu-reading public. A continuing life has thereby been ensured for the rather vague sketch of the origins of Urdu given by Mir Amman in this passage. The rather naive theories advanced are, however, now of less interest than the author's style in this, the first 'real' book of Urdu prose.

The text is based on the most popular of the nineteenth century text-book editions, *Bāgh o bahār, consisting of entertaining tales in the Hindūstānī language*, ed. D. Forbes, 4th ed. (London: W.H. Allen, 1873), pp. 7–8. (Both Phillott **9** and Abdul Haq **10** subsequently produced their own editions.) Besides translations by Forbes himself and by his rival Eastwick, there is also the version 'into literal English with copious notes' by Adalut Khan, 9th ed. (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1905), pp. 5–7.

Gilchrist's work on Urdu at Fort William and elsewhere is surveyed in Sadiq-ur-Rahman Kidwai, *Gilchrist and the 'Language of Hindustan'* (New Delhi: Rachna Prakashan, 1972).

حقیقت اردو زبان کی بزرگوں کے منہ سے یوں سنی ہے کہ دلی شہر ہندوؤں کے نزدیک چوجگی ہے۔ انہیں کے راجا پرجا قدیم سے وہاں رہتے تھے۔ اور اپنی بھاکھا بولتے تھے۔ ہزار برس سے مسلمانوں کا عمل ہوا۔ سلطان محمود غزنوی آیا، پھر غوری اور لودی بادشاہ ہوئے۔ اس آمد و رفت کے باعث کچھ زبان نے ہندو مسلمان کی آمیزش پائی۔ آخر امیر تیمور نے، جن کے گھرانے میں اب تلک نام نہاد سلطنت کا چلا جاتا ہے، ہندوستان کو لیا۔ ان کے آنے اور رہنے سے لشکر کا بازار شہر میں داخل ہوا۔ اس واسطے شہر کا بازار اردو کہلایا۔ پھر ہمایوں بادشاہ پٹھانوں کے ہاتھ سے حیران ہو کر ولایت گئے۔ آخر وہاں سے آن کر پس ماندوں کو گوشمالی دی۔ کوئی مفسد باقی نہ رہا کہ فتنہ فساد برپا کرے۔

جب اکبر بادشاہ تخت پر بیٹھے تب چاروں طرف کے ملکوں سے سب قوم قدر دانی اور فیض رسانی اس خاندانِ لاثانی کی سن کر حضور میں آ کر جمع ہوئے، لیکن ہر ایک کی گویائی اور بولی جدی جدی تھی۔ اکٹھے ہونے سے آپس میں لین دین، سودا سلف، سوال جواب کرتے ایک زبان اردو کی مقرر ہوئی۔ جب حضرت شاہجہاں صاحبِ قران نے قلعۂ مبارک اور جامع مسجد اور شہر پناہ تعمیر کروایا اور تختِ طاؤس میں جواہر جڑوایا اور دل بادل ساخیمہ چوبوں پر استاد کر طنابوں سے کھنچوایا اور نواب علی مردان خاں نہر کو لے کر آیا، تب بادشاہ نے خوش ہو کر جشن فرمایا اور شہر کو اپنا دار الخلافت بنایا۔ تب سے شاہ جہاں آباد مشہور ہوا، اگرچہ دِلّی جدی ہے، وہ پرانا شہر اور یہ نیا شہر کہلاتا ہے، اور وہاں کے بازار کو اردوئے معلےٰ خطاب دیا۔

امیر تیمور کے عہد سے محمد شاہ کی بادشاہت بلکہ احمد شاہ اور عالم گیر ثانی کے وقت تلک پیڑھی بہ پیڑھی سلطنت یکساں چلی آئی۔ ندان زبان اردو کی منجھتے منجھتے ایسی منجی کہ کسو شہر کی بولی اس سے ٹکر نہیں کھاتی۔ لیکن قدر داں منصف چاہیئے جو تجویز کرے۔ سو اب خدا نے بعد مدّت کے جان گلکرسٹ سا دانا نکتہ رس پیدا کیا کہ جنہوں نے اپنے گیان اور اگت سے اور تلاش و محنت سے قاعدوں کی کتابیں تصنیف کیں۔ اس سبب سے ہندوستان کی زبان کا ملکوں میں رواج ہوا اور نئے سر سے رونق زیادہ ہوئی۔ نہیں تو اپنی دستار و گفتار و رفتار کو کوئی برا نہیں جانتا۔ اگر ایک گنوار سے پوچھیے تو شہر والوں کو نام رکھتا ہے۔ اور اپنے تئیں سب سے بہتر سمجھتا ہے۔ خیر، عاقلاں خود میدانند۔

Besides carrying-over several features of P syntax, Mir Amman's style is based on the vernacular U of eighteenth century Delhi, thus differing from stricter later standards in several respects. Obsolete features of this kind are asterisked in the following notes to the passage.

1 *haqīqat urdū zabān kī*: 'the true story of the U language', half carrying-over the word-order of the P izafat phrase *haqīqat-e zabān-e urdū* (841). There are several similar instances in the passage.

2 * *cau-jugī*: 'as old as time', through having existed through the 4 aeons (S *yuga*) of Hindu cosmology. Mir Amman's casual use of obsolete semi-*tatsama* forms is equally illustrated by the following * *bhākhā* 'vernacular' = S *bhāṣā*.

3 The successors of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (d. 1030) were overthrown in the late twelfth century by the Ghori dynasty, who initiated the Muslim conquest of Delhi in 1192. The later Lodi dynasty (1451–1526) immediately preceded the Mughals.

5 Amir Taimur (1336–1405), E 'Tamberlane', was a Central Asian warlord who sacked Delhi in 1398 (well before the Lodis), and who was an ancestor of the first Mughal emperor Babar (1526–1530).

5 *ab talak* = modern *ab tak*.

5 *nām nihād saltanat kā*: 'the name and family of the empire', a reference to the vestigial survival of the Mughals in 1801.

6 *laškar kā bāzār*: cf. 17 *urdū-e mu'allā*.

6–8 The second Mughal emperor Humayun (1530–1556) was the son of Babar and the father of Akbar (1556–1605). Driven into exile by the Pathan ruler Sher Shah Suri, he returned to the throne with Persian support only in 1555.

7 *vilāyat*: 'home country', here in the classical sense of the Indian Muslims' homelands in Iran and Central Asia, before its transfer to 'Blighty'.

7 * *ān-kar* = modern *ā-kar*.

9 * *qaum*: 'people, tribe', always f. in modern U.

10 *qadar-dānī*: initiating a sequence of phrases ending in *-ānī*, in accordance with the traditional fondness for rhyming prose in P.

11 *huzūr*: 'royal presence'.

12 * *judī judī*: the f. inflexion contrasts with the modern rule which treats P *judā* 'separate' as an uninflected adj., like *dānā* 'wise', etc.

12 *len den*: introducing a set of three compounds (524).

13 *sāhib-e qirān*: 'Lord of the auspicious conjunction', a title shared by Akbar's grandson Shah Jahan (1627–58) with Amir Taimur.

13 *qil'â-e mubārak*: lit. 'the August Castle', i.e. the Red Fort.

14 *taxt-e tāūs*: 'the Peacock Throne', the fabulously valuable Mughal throne looted in Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi in 1739, and subsequently broken up. While *javāhir* 'jewels' is technically the A broken p. of *jauhar*, it is often used as a s. in U, cf. 'Jawahar lal Nehru'.

14 *dal-bādal*: lit. 'mass of clouds', a HU compound also denoting a large tent.

15 Navvab Ali Mardan Khan (d. 1657) was a prominent noble of Shah Jahan's court, chiefly remembered for the construction of this canal from the Yamuna.

16 *dārul-xilāfat*: an A possessive compound equivalent to the modern *dārul-hukūmat* (741), but implying Mughal aspirations to the authority of the Caliphate.

16 Shahjahanabad is now a dimly distinguished part of Old Delhi, situated to the south of the Chandni Chowk which runs west from the Red Fort.

19 The long reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–48) saw the Mughals' final collapse. He was followed by Ahmad Shah (1748–54), whose own successor adopted the grand regnal title of Alamgir II (1754–59). However nominal their power, the titles of king-emperors demand the use of P or A ordinals in U (824).

20 * *nidān*: 'finally', much used in eighteenth century U, now replaced by A *āxir*.

20 *manjte manjte aisī manjī*: 'became so refined through such continual polishing', a nice illustration both of the use of the adv. ptc. (532b), and of the way in which the natural patterns of HU differ from E, with its careful proscription of repetition.

21 * *kisū*: = modern HU *kisī*.

23 *gyān aur agat*: the use of *aur* to link this semi-*tatsama* pair is to be contrasted with the following P copula phrase *talāš o mihnat*.

23 *qā'idâ*: 'grammar, primer', a meaning long since added in U to the original A sense of 'rule'.

24 Hindustan here has its restricted sense of the U-speaking heartlands in North India.

24 *nae sir se*: 'afresh', a HU adv. phrase equivalent to P *az sar-e nau* (843a).

25 *dastār o guftār o raftār*: lit. 'turban, speech and gait', i.e. 'the way he dresses, talks and behaves', a triplet proverbial in P.

26 *nām rakhtā hai*: i.e. 'gives them a bad name'.

26 * *apne tāīn*: = modern *apne ko*.

26 *xair, 'āqilāṅ xud mīdānand*: 'well, the wise are those who know best', a P tag used to round off the argument in the same way as an equivalent A formula is cited at the end of passage [6].

* * *

The chronogram or *tārīx* incorporated in the title *Bāğ o bahār* is based on the system called *abjad*, which allocates numerical values to each of the intrinsic letters of the A alphabet (71) in accordance with the ancient Semitic norms which prevailed before the arrival in the Middle East of the much more convenient Indian system of decimal numbers. The discrepancy with actual A alphabetic order necessitates reference to the mnemonic sequence whose first member gives the *abjad*-system its name:

ابجد ہوز حطی کلمن سعفص قرشت ثخذ ضظغ

abjad	*havvaz*	*huttī*	*kaliman*	*sa'fas*	*qurīšat*	*saxxaz*	*zazağ*
1 2 3 4	5 6 7	8 9 10	20 – 50	60 – 90	100–400	500–700	800–1000

The addition of the A letters required to write *Bāğ o bahār* (2 + 1 + 1000, + 6, + 2 + 5 + 1 + 200) consequently results in the total 1217, yielding the *Hijri* year of the work's completion, corresponding to A.D. 1801–2.

The *abjad*-system survives in U to indicate the equivalent of lower-case Roman numerals in introductory pages and sectional headings, thus e.g. *jīm* = (iii). It also continues to be used by practitioners of the elegant art of chronogram-writing or *tārīx-goī*, whose strict rules demand the reduction of the additional P letters *pe ce že gāf* and the extra U letters *ṭe ḍāl ṛe* to those of their A originals, i.e. 2, 3, 7, 20 and 400, 4, 200.

2
Insha Allah Khan:
Rānī ketkī kī kahānī (c. 1803)

Insha Allah Khan (c. 1756–1818) was an Urdu poet who found patronage in the courts of Lucknow, Murshidabad and Delhi; it was in Lucknow that he wrote the delightfully eccentric '*Tale of Queen Ketkī*'. Though it is this text for which Insha is remembered in Hindi circles, he was primarily a prolific literary virtuoso whose oeuvre included compositions in Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Panjabi; he was extraordinarily versatile, his range extending from frivolous verses on women's underwear to the *Daryā-e Latāfat*, the first methodical treatment of Urdu grammar and dialect.

The tale is written as a self-conscious linguistic exercise, deliberately turning away from established literary conventions in order to produce a piece of writing based on the spoken style of 'Hindavī'; the deliberate exclusion of all non-Hindi vocabulary, including *tatsama* words as well as the more obviously 'foreign' loans from Arabic and Persian, makes this an entirely artificial experiment.

Insha's story is a romantic tale full of supernatural and fantastic events, elements derived from the age-old traditions of oral story-telling: the narrative is based on a well-tried formula, the tribulations of star-crossed lovers whose families are locked in internecine strife. The extract here is from the opening of the text and forms a preface to the narrative.

The first section is a formulaic expression of humble supplication to Allah and of eulogy of the Prophet and Ali, and a statement of allegiance to the Shia tradition; all the Islamic references are necessarily expressed euphemistically, in conformity with the author's self-imposed ban on Arabic and Persian vocabulary. The extract begins with a couplet of doggerel (loosely based on the *dohā* metre) in which the author sets out the nature of his experiment, and this theme is taken up again in the second half of the extract. Here Insha reports how the idea of writing a story in the unmixed vernacular came to him, and how the plan was ridiculed by a conservative old-timer who considered the project unworkable; the author vigorously defends his scheme, insisting that he knows what he is doing and that he is not making any excessive claims. The extract ends with the author addressing his audience directly in the manner of an oral story-teller as he exhorts his audience to pay full attention.

The text is taken from the standard Devanagari edition: Shyamsundar Das, ed., *Rānī ketkī kī kahānī* (6th ed., Varanasi: Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 1966), pp. 1–3. Some textual variants are given in G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, pp.103 ff.

For the Urdu background see *UL* pp.60–63; for examples of Insha's verse and a fuller biographical note see D.J. Matthews and C. Shackle, *An anthology of classical Urdu love lyrics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) pp. 84–95, 195–196. Insha's place in the development of Hindi prose is described by R.S. McGregor, 'The rise of standard Hindi and early Hindi prose fiction' in T.W. Clark (ed.), *The novel in India: its birth and development* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), pp.142–178; a slightly expanded version of the article appears in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1967), Parts 3 and 4, pp.114–132.

यह वह कहानी है कि जिसमें हिंदी छुट ।
और न किसी बोली का मेल है न पुट ॥

सिर झुकाकर नाक रगड़ता हूँ उस अपने बनानेवाले के सामने जिसने हम सब को बनाया और बात की बात में वह कर दिखाया कि जिसका भेद किसी ने न पाया । आतियाँ जातियाँ जो साँसें हैं, उसके बिन ध्यान यह सब फाँसें हैं । यह कल का पुतला जो अपने उस खेलाड़ी की सुध रक्खे तो खटाई में क्यों पड़े और कड़वा कसैला क्यों हो । उस फल की मिठाई चक्खे जो बड़े से बड़े अगलों ने चक्खी है ।

देखने को दो आँखें दीं और सुनने को दो कान ।
नाक भी सब में ऊँची कर दी मरतों को जी दान ॥

मिट्टी के बासन को इतनी सकत कहाँ जो अपने कुम्हार के करतब कुछ ताड़ सके । सच है, जो बनाया हुआ हो, सो अपने बनानेवाले को क्या सराहे और क्या कहे । यों जिसका जी चाहे, पड़ा बके । सिर से लगा पाँव तक जितने रोंगटे हैं, जो सबके सब बोल उठें और सराहा करें और उतने बरसों उसी ध्यान में रहें जितनी सारी नदियों में रेत और फूल फलियाँ खेत में हैं, तो भी कुछ न हो सके, कराहा करें । इस सिर झुकाने के साथ ही दिन रात जपता हूँ उस अपने दाता के भेजे हुए प्यारे को जिसके लिये यों कहा है - जो तू न होता तो मैं कुछ न बनाता; और उसका चचेरा भाई जिसका ब्याह उसके घर हुआ, उसकी सुरत मुझे लगी रहती है । मैं फूला अपने आप में नहीं समाता , और जितने उनके लड़के-बाले हैं, उन्हीं को मेरे जी में चाह है । और कोई कुछ हो, मुझे नहीं भाता । मुझको उस घराने छुट किसी चोर ठग से क्यों पड़ी ! जीते और मरते आसरा उन्हीं सभों का और उनके घराने का रखता हूँ तीसों घड़ी ।

२. डौल डाल एक अनोखी बात का

एक दिन बैठे-बैठे यह बात अपने ध्यान में चढ़ी कि कोई कहानी ऐसी कहिए कि जिसमें हिंदवी छुट और किसी बोली का पुट न मिले, तब जाके मेरा जी फूल की कली के रूप में खिले । बाहर की बोली और गँवारी कुछ उसके बीच में न हो । अपने मिलनेवालों में से एक कोई बड़े पढ़े-लिखे, पुराने-धुराने, डाँग, बूढ़े घाग यह खटराग लाए । सिर हिलाकर, मुँह थुथाकर, नाक भौं चढ़ाकर, आँखें फिराकर लगे कहने - यह बात होते दिखाई नहीं देती । हिंदवीपन भी न निकले और भाखापन भी न हो । बस जैसे भले लोग अच्छों से अच्छे आपस में बोलते चालते हैं, ज्यों का त्यों वही सब डौल रहे और छाँह किसी की न हो, यह नहीं होने का । मैंने उनकी ठंडी साँस का टहोका खाकर झुँझुलाकर कहा - मैं कुछ ऐसा बढ़-बोला नहीं जो राई को परबत कर दिखाऊँ और झूठ सच बोलकर उँगलियाँ नचाऊँ, और बे-सिर बे-ठिकाने की उलझी-सुलझी बातें सुनाऊँ । जो मुझ से न हो सकता तो यह बात मुँह से क्यों निकालता ? जिस ढब से होता, इस बखेड़े को टालता । . . .

अब आप कान रख के, आँखें मिला के, सन्मुख होके टुक इधर देखिए, किस ढब से बढ़ चलता हूँ और अपने फूल की पंखड़ी जैसे होठों से किस-किस रूप के फूल उगलता हूँ ।

Insha exploits the possibilities of alliteration and rhyme almost to the point of self-indulgence, and delights in the extravagances of metaphor and idiom. Archaisms in his language show the norms of early nineteenth century idiom and orthography, while the writing of cj. ptc. as two words shows that H usage had not yet developed separately from that of U (513).

4 *bāt kī bāt meṅ*: 'in the twinkling of an eye, instantaneously' (542).

4 *vah kar dikhāyā ki jiskā bhed kisī ne na pāyā*: 'made manifest that [creation] whose secret none can fathom'. *ki* (846) is pleonastic, as often with a relative pr. not followed by a correlative clause (*jo ki* etc.); cf. 21 *ki jismeṅ hindavī chuṭ*.

4 *bhed*: one of only a handful of *tatsama* words in the whole passage.

4 *ātiyāṅ jātiyāṅ jo sāṅseṅ haiṅ*: 'those breaths which come and go'. The ptc., with full fp. concord as still found in Panjabi, is archaic.

5 *uske bin dhyān*: 'without meditation upon him', i.e. the Creator.

6 *khaṭāī meṅ kyoṅ paṛe*: 'why should he fall into unpleasantness'; the image, extended by the alliterative *kaṛvā kasailā* 'bitter and astringent' alludes to the suffering which can be avoided if man remembers his maker.

6 *cakkhe*: the archaic doubled consonant is for rhyme with 6 *rakkhe*, where it is a genuinely preserved feature (H *rakkhnā* < *rakṣati*: 521a,b).

9 *nāk bhī sab meṅ ūṅcī kar dī*: 'has raised [our] status amongst all'.

9 *marṭoṅ ko jī dān*: 'to the dying, the gift of life' — the phrase is governed by 8 *denā*; ptc. *martā* is used nominally (532).

10 *itnī sakat kahāṅ*: a rhetorical use of *kahāṅ*, 'how could it have the power' (*sakat* < *śaktī*); cf. rhetorical 11 *kyā sarāhe aur kyā kahe*.

11 *yoṅ jiskā jī cāhe, parā bake*: 'whoever so chooses may lie around gabbling uselessly', i.e. all attempts at praising God are in vain.

12 *lagā*: an adv. use, completely replaced by *lekar* in modern HU.

12 *sabke sab*: 'the whole lot, each and every one' (542a).

13 *nadiyoṅ meṅ ret aur phūl phaliyāṅ khet meṅ haiṅ*: rhyming prose bolsters the hyperbolic poetic image.

14 *karāhā karaiṅ*: 'moan as they may', i.e. their attempts at praise would be useless. *karaiṅ* (for *kareṅ*) is archaic.

14 *us apne dātā ke bheje hue pyāre ko*: 'that Beloved sent by out Lord', i.e. Muhammad, sent by Allah.

16 *uskā cacerā bhāī jiskā byāh uske ghar huā*: i.e. the Prophet's cousin Ali, who married the former's daughter Fatima. Cf. 17 *unke laṛke-bāle* i.e. the descendants of Ali, leaders of the Shia sect.

17 *maiṅ phūlā apne āp meṅ nahīṅ samātā*: 'I cannot contain my joy', an idiom based on *phūlnā* 'to blossom with joy', usually without *apne āp meṅ*.

18 *kisī cor ṭhag se kyoṅ paṛī!*: 'why should I have anything to do with any thief or plunderer!' — possibly a derogatory reference to the Sunni sect, or alternatively to Krishna, the 'butter-thief' (*mākhan-cor*).

19 *jīte aur marte*: 'living and dying', i.e. in life and in death.

19 *unke gharāne kā rakhtā hūṅ tīsoṅ ghaṛī*: to the [allegiance] of their lineage I ever pledge myself'. *tīsoṅ ghaṛī*: 'all 30 *ghaṛīs*', i.e. all day long. A *ghaṛī* is a period of 24 minutes, thus one thirtieth of twelve hours.

22 *tab jāke*: 'and then [and then only]' — a common HU expression, often *tab kahīṅ jākar* 'then maybe, with luck'.

24 *yah khaṭrāg lāe*: 'introduced this note of discord'. *khaṭrāg* derives from S *ṣaṭ* + *rāg*, '[all] six musical modes', i.e. cacophony.

25 *yah bāt hote dikhāī nahīṅ detī*: with its adv. use of the obl. ptc. *hote* (532) the idiom is very close to the E 'I don't see this happening'.

25 *hindavīpan bhī na nikale aur bhākhāpan bhī na ho*: an ambiguous rhetorical statement, probably meaning 'It would neither lose its Hindavī [U] quality nor take on the character of the regional vernacular [Braj]'.

26 *acchoṅ se acche āpas meṅ bolte cālte haiṅ*: 'talk amongst themselves in the best way'; *cālnā* echoes *bolnā* as in *bolcāl* 'conversation' (524).

27 *chāṅh kisī kī na ho*: 'there should be no semblance of any other [language]'. In modern H *chāṅh* is replaced by its S etymon *chāyā (***17**).

27 *yah nahīṅ hone kā*: 'this isn't possible, this can't happen'.

27 *unkī ṭhaṇḍī sāṅs kā ṭahokā khākar*: 'suffering the blow of his deep [lit. 'cold'] sigh', i.e. after having to listen to his sarcastic sighing.

28 *baṛh-bolā*: 'exaggerator, tall-talker' (perhaps implying 'one who can magically bring things into being just by speaking to them').

28 *rāī ko parbat dikhānā*: 'to present something as it is not' — quite distinct in sense from the E idiom 'to make a mountain out of a molehill'.

29 *uṅgliyāṅ nacānā*: = *ungliyoṅ (par) nacānā* 'to have dance at one's fingers', i.e to make dance to one's own tune.

29 *be-sir be-ṭhikāne kī uljhī-suljhī bāteṅ*: 'muddled matters having neither rhyme nor reason'.

30 *muṅh se kyoṅ nikāltā*: 'why would I even utter it?'.

31 *jis ḍhab se hotā*: 'in whatever way it could be done'.

32 *kān rakh ke āṅkheṅ milā ke*: 'listening attentively and looking [me] full in the face'.

32 *kis ḍhab se baṛh caltā hūṅ*: 'in what fine style I proceed'.

33 *kis-kis rūp ke phūl*: 'flowers of what varied beauty' (542a).

3
Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib: Letter to Tufta (1862)

Mirza Asadullah Khan (1797–1869), whose bold choice of the pen-name (*taxallus*) Ghalib 'Triumphant' has turned out to be amply justified by his later fame, is chiefly remembered for his Urdu poetry (*UL*, pp. 87–93). The short collection of the *Dīvān-e Ghālib* is still compared by many Urdu aficionados to the Vedas in terms of its divine inspiration.

Ghalib himself was, however, quite as proud of his much larger output of Persian poetry and of his authoritative status as a lexicographer of Persian: and these interests are naturally prominent in his memorable Persian and Urdu letters, which provide matchless insights into the workings of a complex and far from modest literary genius. The Urdu letters were published in two volumes, *'Ūd-e Hindī* (1868) and *Urdū-e Mu'allā* (1869), from whose appended selection of letters dealing with literary themes this passage is taken.

The letter is one of a long series addressed by Ghalib to one of his Hindu pupils and intimate friends, Munshi Har Gopal Tufta, whose death was soon to end their long and close association. It has as its underlying theme Ghalib's enormous pride in his knowledge of Persian, which he claimed to have learnt from a Persian-speaking convert from Zoroastrianism, and which had led him recently to compile his *Qāti'-e Burhān* or '*Decider of the Proof*' in attempted rebuttal of the standard Indo-Persian dictionary, the seventeenth century *Burhān-e Qāti'* or '*Decisive Proof*'.

Ghalib's first paragraph disclaims any special expertise in Arabic only to underline his often-proclaimed total command of Persian, to whose classical masters he compares himself in the second. A point raised in a now lost letter from Tufta is taken up in the third paragraph, where the suggestion that Ghalib might have copied one of his odes from the seventeenth century poet Naziri is angrily rebutted. Another point of Tufta's, this time concerning the correct use of Arabic *zamān* 'time' and its derivatives in Persian, is taken up in the fourth paragraph, which leads to a devastating final attack on one of Ghalib's favourite targets, the so-called Indian authorities on Persian.

The apparent dryness of this subject-matter is immediately belied by the legendary magic of Ghalib's style, which intersperses the most colloquial and outspoken Hindustani mode of Urdu with Arabic and Persian tags and technicalities in a uniquely natural fashion.

The text is taken from the exceptionally careful edition of Ghulam Rasul Mihr, *Xutūt-e Ğālib*, Vol. 1 (Lahore: Majlis-e Yadgar-e Ghalib, 1969), pp. 114–5.

A somewhat abbreviated translation is given in R. Russell and Khurshidul Islam, *Ghalib 1797–1869: Volume 1, Life and Letters* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969), pp. 279–280: this is an immensely sympathetic account of Ghalib's life, largely based on translations of his letters. A laboriously full version of the letter is also available in Daud Rahbar, trans., *Urdu Letters of Mirzā Asadu'llāh Khān Ghālib* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1987), pp. 73–5.

صاحب ،

دونوں زبانوں سے مرکب ہے یہ فارسی متعارف : ایک فارسی ، ایک عربی - ہرچند اس منطق میں لغاتِ ترکی بھی آجاتے ہیں مگر کمتر - میں عربی کا عالم نہیں ، مگر نرا جاہل بھی نہیں - بس اتنی بات ہے کہ اس زبان کے لغات کا محقق نہیں ہوں - علماء سے پوچھنے کا محتاج اور سَنَد کا طلب گار رہتا ہوں - فارسی میں مبدأِ فیاض سے مجھے وہ دستگاہ ملی ہے اور اس زبان کے قواعد و ضوابط میرے ضمیر میں اس طرح جاگزیں ہیں، جیسے فولاد میں جوہر -

اہلِ پارس میں اور مجھ میں دو طرح کے تفاوت ہیں : ایک تو یہ کہ ان کا مولد ایران اور میرا مولد ہندوستان ، دوسرے یہ کہ وہ لوگ آگے پیچھے ، سو دو سو ، چار سو ، آٹھ سو برس پہلے پیدا ہوئے ہیں .....

کیا ہنسی آتی ہے کہ تم مانند اور شاعروں کے مجھ کو بھی سمجھے ہو کہ اُستاد کی غزل یا قصیدہ سامنے رکھ لیا، اوس کے قوافی لکھ لئے اور ان قافیوں پر لفظ جوڑنے لگے - لاحول ولاقوۃ الا باللہ - بچپن میں جب میں ریختہ لکھنے لگا ہوں ، لعنت ہے مجھ پر اگر میں نے کوئی ریختہ یا اوس کے قوافی پیشِ نظر رکھ لئے ہوں - صرف بحر اور ردیف ، قافیہ دیکھ لیا اور اوس زمین میں غزل ، قصیدہ لکھنے لگا - تم کہتے ہو نظیری کا دیوان وقتِ تحریرِ قصیدہ پیشِ نظر ہوگا اور جو اس کے قافیہ کا شعر دیکھا ، اس پر لکھا ہوگا - واللہ اگر تمہارے اس خط کے دیکھنے سے پہلے میں یہ بھی جانتا ہوں کہ اس زمین میں نظیری کا قصیدہ بھی ہے ، چہ جائے آنکہ وہ شعر - بھائی شاعری معنی آفرینی ہے ، قافیہ پیمائی نہیں ہے -

" زمان " لفظِ عربی " ازمنہ " جمع ، دونوں طرح فارسی میں مستعمل - " زمانے " " یک زماں " " ہر زماں " " زماں زماں " " دریں زماں " " درآں زماں " سب صحیح اور فصیح - جو اس کو غلط کہے ، وہ گدھا - بلکہ اہلِ فارس نے ، مثلِ " موج " و " موجہ " یہاں بھی " ہ " بڑھا کر " زمانہ " استعمال کیا ہے - " یک زماں " کو میں نے کبھی غلط نہ کہا ہوگا - سعدی کے شعر لکھنے کی کیا حاجت ؟

سنو میاں : میرے ہم وطن ، یعنی ہندی لوگ جو وادیٔ فارسی دانی میں دم مارتے ہیں ، وہ اپنے قیاس کو دخل دے کر ضوابط ایجاد کرتے ہیں ، جیسا وہ گھاگس : عبدالواسع ہانسوی ، لفظ " نامراد " کو غلط کہتا ہے اور یہ اُلّو کا پٹھا قتیل " صفوت کدہ " " شفقت کدہ " " نشتر کدہ " کو اور " ہمہ عالم " و " ہمہ جا " کو غلط کہتا ہے - کیا میں بھی ویسا ہی ہوں جو " یک زماں " کو غلط کہوں گا ؟ فارسی کی میزان یعنی ترازو میرے ہات میں ہے - لِلّٰہِ الحَمْد وَ لِلّٰہِ الشّکر -

مرقومہ چہار شنبہ ۲۷ ماہ اگست ۱۸۶۲ء

غالب

Mihr's careful edition preserves the spelling-conventions favoured in nineteenth century U books: besides the spelling 27 *hāt* for *hāth*, the chief point to note is the very convenient distinction through the use of written *vāo* of *us*, *un*, etc., from *is*, *in*.

1 *sāhib*: an opening address entirely appropriate to a very old friend, cf. 10 *tum*, 17 *bhaī*, 23 *suno miyāh*.

2 *donoṅ zabānoṅ se murakkab hai ye fārsī muta'āraf*: perhaps 'it's as a compound of the two languages that this Persian is familiar' — but Ghalib's effortless incorporation of PA loans into colloquial HU syntactic patterns repeatedly defies attempts at producing definitive E translations.

3 *mantiq*: here 'everyday speech, colloquial', vs. the modern U specialization of this loan in the sense of 'logic'.

3 *luğāt*: in its original A sense of p. 'words', vs. modern s. 'dictionary'.

3 *nirā jāhil bhī nahīṅ*: 'not a complete ignoramus either', whose self-deprecation is splendidly picked up by *bas itnī bāt hai kī* . . ..

4 *muhaqqiq*: cf. *tahqīq* f. 'research' (721).

5 *sanad*: here 'authority, precedent', vs. the modern sense of 'certificate'. Since both A and P were learnt languages for most Indians, doubts as to the correct usage of particular words could only be resolved by the sort of authoritative guidance Ghalib himself provides in his final paragraphs.

5 *mabdā-e fayyāz*: 'Bounteous Source', implying the God-given origins of Ghalib's expertise in P.

6 *jaise faulād meṅ jauhar*: 'as the temper is in steel'.

7 *ahl-e pārs*: = 20 *ahl-e fārs*, 'the people of Fars', i.e. the classical Persian poets like Sa'di and Hafiz, both born in Shiraz, in the province of Fars or Pars. Neo-E 'Farsi' derives from A — which has no phoneme /p/ (71) — vs. 'Persia', 'Persian', and 'Parsi': cf. A > U *iflātūn* vs. 'Plato'.

8 *āge pīche*: 'one after another, in succession'.

10 *mānind aur šā'iroṅ ke*: an obsolete prepn. construction (844).

10 *ustād kī ğazal yā qasīdâ*: the rest of the paragraph demands some acquaintance with the technical terms of classical P and U poetry (*UL*, pp. 17–25).

The *ustād*, a living or dead master, provided the example for composition in the two main genres of the *ğazal* 'lyric', and the *qasīdâ* 'formal ode', both of which were formally defined in terms of the triple criteria of *bahr* 'metre', *qāfīyâ* 'rhyme', and *radīf* 'end-rhyme', collectively constituting the *zamīn* or 'ground' of the composition.

Ghalib's own famous U ghazal beginning *dil-e nādāṅ tujhe huā kyā hai* is in the metre called *xafīf* 'light', scanning -⏑-┤⏑-⏑┤-- on the mnemonic pattern *Fā'iLātun maFā'iLun Fi'Lun* (cf. 721), the rhyme *-ā*, and the end-rhyme *kyā hai*.

11 *lā haul va lā quvvâ illā billāh*: a common A formula, explained earlier (743).

12 *rextâ*: the P loan formerly used to designate U (14).

12 *likhne lagā hūṅ*: 'ever since I started writing'.

12 *la'nat hai mujh par*: 'may I be accursed', with entirely natural U word-order in this interjectory expression.

14 Naziri (d. 1613) was one of the many Persian poets who achieved a successful career and an enormous posthumous reputation in India.

14 *vaqt-e tahrīr-e qasīdâ*: 'at the time of writing the *qasīdâ*', an adv. P izafat phrase.

17 *ci jāe āṅki vo ši'r*: lit. 'what place for that verse?', i.e. 'let alone that verse!'. The mixture of P *ci* 'what?' and *āṅki* 'that' with U *vo* is entirely typical of Ghalib's omnivorous style.

18 The paragraph lays down rules for the correct use of A *zamān* 'time', its broken plural *azminâ*, its PA derivatives *zamāne* 'for some time', *yak-zamāṅ* 'contemporary', *har-zamāṅ* 'all the time', *zamāṅ zamāṅ* 'from time to time', *dar-īṅ zamāṅ* 'at this time', *dar āṅ zamāṅ* 'at that time', besides its P extension *zamānâ*, on the pattern of A *mauj* 'wave' > PA *maujâ*.

21 Sa'di of Shiraz (d. 1292) was one of the ultimate Persian masters, whose *Gulistān* or *'Rose-Garden'* was drilled into countless generations of Indian children in their Persian classes.

23 *suno miyāṅ*: 'listen, my dear fellow', a very informal phrase sardonically juxtaposed in Ghalib's usual fashion with the elaborately PA *vādī-e fārsī-dānī* lit. 'valley of acquaintance with P'.

24 *vo ghāgas*: 'that dodo'. While HU is quite as rich as E in genitally-based four-letter words, the rules of Mughal courtesy dictated a preference for bird or animal names in curses, cf. 31 *ullū kā paṭṭhā* 'owl-sprat', or the very common 20 *vo gadhā* 'he's an ass'.

24 Abdul Vasi Hansavi, a late seventeenth-century writer on P grammar, is a favourite target for Ghalib's acid criticisms of Indian 'experts' in P, like the Hindu convert Mir Muhammad Hasan Qatil (d. 1823).

25 The huge possibilities opened by the freedom of prefixation and suffication in P (821–2) led to an uncertainty in Indian minds as to the correctness of many PA derivatives, e.g. *nā-murād* 'wretched', or *safvat-kadâ* 'council-chamber', *šafqat-kadâ* 'compassion-chamber', *ništar-kadâ* 'lancet-chamber' (all elaborate synonyms for 'heart'), or *hamâ-'ālam* 'world-wide' and *hamâ-jā* 'everywhere'.

27 *mīzān ya'nī tarāzū*: 'balance, i.e. scales', a nicely throwaway gloss of an A word by its more familiar P synonym.

27 *lillāhul-hamd va lillāhuš-šukr*: 'to God be the praise and to God be the thanks', a typical use of an A formula (743) to close the communication.

28 *marqūmâ cahār-šambâ*: 'dated Wednesday'. P names for days of the week share *jum'â* with U, but otherwise prefix numerals (824) to *šambâ* 'Saturday', from *yak-šambâ* 'Sunday' through to *panj-šambâ* 'Thursday'.

4

Sayyid Ahmad Khan: *Musāfirān-e Landan* (1869)

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) was one of the outstanding figures of nineteenth century Indian political, religious and cultural life. He devoted his formidable energies to persuading his fellow-Muslims that their destiny lay in loyalty to the British and in a maximum absorption of the values of Victorian civilization. Although his castigation of the Muslims for their backwardness in relation both to the British and other Europeans and to their Hindu fellow-countrymen won him many enemies, his reformist message also attracted many devoted adherents to his cause, one of whose major elements was an enthusiastic advocacy of the use and development of Urdu. The works of Sir Sayyid's disciples constitute a major part of the Urdu literature produced around the turn of the century (*UL*, pp. 99–103).

Sir Sayyid was himself a tireless writer of books, tracts and articles on all manner of subjects. Although no great stylist, he always wrote with vigour and enthusiasm: and these qualities shine through the often rough-hewn style of what now seems a rather old-fashioned Urdu.

The passage is taken from the beginning of the travel-diary (*safar-nāmâ*) of his visit to London in 1869, sections of which were regularly sent back for serial publication in the journal of Sir Sayyid's Aligarh Scientific Sociely made, in characteristically forceful style.

The first paragraph deals with the impression made on Sir Sayyid during his journey by train from Allahabad to Bombay by the splendid arrangements instituted for the dispensing of water to thirsty passengers at stations en route through the charity of wealthy Hindus. A typically caustic contrast is then drawn with the situation in his home province, where even in the main junctions near Agra and Benares, let alone such minor stations as Aligarh or Hathras, no such admirable initiatives have been undertaken by the lazy and selfish locals.

A brief comment on the various groups of outsiders brought in to work on the railways leads to the interesting observations of the final paragraph, in which Sir Sayyid makes much of his ability to communicate in Urdu with all classes of the people he met during his journey, through present-day Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. He ends with a dig against the 'Allahabad Association' and their advocacy of some supposed ancient tongue, i.e. the Hindi to whose promotion at the expense of Urdu Sir Sayyid remained actively and fiercely opposed throughout his long political life.

The text is taken from the standard modern edition of Muhammad Ismail Panipati, *Musāfirān-e Landan* (Lahore: Majlis-e Taraqqi-e Adab, 1961), pp. 37–39.

The context is well described in the biography of Sir Sayyid by his close disciple Altaf Husain Hali (**6**), *Hayat-i-Javed*, trans. K.H. Qadiri and D.J. Matthews (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1979), especially pp. 99–121.

جب ہم بلگام کے اسٹیشن پر پہنچے تو ہم نے تین برہمنوں کو (جن میں سے ایک معزّز معلوم ہوتا تھا اور پوشاک بھی معقول پہنے ہوئے تھا) دیکھا کہ لوگوں کو نہایت تمیز و صفائی سے پانی پلا رہے ہیں اور پانی بھی نہایت عمدہ صاف میٹھا بہت ٹھنڈا باسی ہے۔ وہ معزز برہمن پکارتا ہے کہ ریل والو! بہت ٹھنڈا میٹھا پانی ہے۔ پینے والو! پانی پیو، بہت ٹھنڈا پانی ہے۔ برتن بھی ان برہمنوں کے جن سے وہ پانی دیتے تھے نہایت اچھے اور صاف خوبصورت تھے۔ اگرچہ شاید یہ انتظام بالتخصیص ہندوؤں کے آرام کے واسطے ہو مگر وہ سب کو پانی دیتے تھے۔ اور تمام مسافروں کو نہایت آرام تھا۔

یہ کیفیت دیکھ کر ہم متعجب ہوئے۔ جب تحقیق کیا تو معلوم ہوا کہ جیون رام جادوا سیٹھ ساکن کامپٹی نے اس اسٹیشن پر دھرم کے لئے پو (سبیل) بٹھائی ہے اور پانی پلانے کا بندوبست کیا، تاکہ مسافروں کو اور بالتخصیص ہندوؤں کو تکلیف نہ ہو اور اسی سبب سے ایسا عمدہ سامان اور ایسا اچھا باسی ٹھنڈا پانی ہے۔ یہ بات مجھے نہایت پسند آئی اور دل میں بیٹھ گئی اور جب زیادہ تحقیق کیا تو معلوم ہوا کہ ہر اسٹیشن پر جو کسی قصبہ یا شہر کے متصل ہے کسی خاص مہاجن نے ورنہ اس شہر یا قصبہ کے دوکان داروں نے آپس میں چندہ کرکے پو بٹھا رکھی ہے، اور پانی پلانے کا بندوبست کر رکھا ہے۔ چنانچہ ہر ایک اسٹیشن پر ہم کو چندے کی بٹھائی ہوئی پو ملی، الّا ویسی خوبی اور خوش اسلوبی اور پانی کی احتیاط دوسری جگہ نہ تھی۔

اس وقت مجھے اپنے ملک پر افسوس آیا۔ کیا ہمارے غریب شہر علی گڑھ اور ہاتھرس کے لوگ ایسے نہیں ہیں جو اپنے اپنے شہر کے اسٹیشنوں پر ایسا عمدہ بندوبست کریں؟ اور کیا آگرہ کے متمول ٹونڈلہ کے اسٹیشن پر اور بنارس کے دولت مند مغل سرائے کے اسٹیشن پر ایسا بندوبست نہیں کر سکتے؟ افسوس ہے کہ وہ لوگ صرف اپنا ہی برف کا پانی پی لینا دنیا کی تمام نعمت سمجھتے ہیں۔ زندگی اور مال و دولت اپنے آرام کو نہیں ہے بلکہ اوروں کو آرام پہنچانے کے لئے ہے۔

اس طرف کی ریل پر پارسی اور ناگر اور دکھنی لوگ ایسی کثرت سے نوکر ہیں جیسے کہ ہماری طرف بنگالی ہیں اور یہی حال تمام سرکاری دفتروں کا ہے۔

بندہ نے الہ آباد سے بمبئی تک کیا گاؤں میں اور کیا چوکیات میں اور کیا ریل پر اور کیا گورنمنٹ کے اہل کاروں اور ہر ایک محکمے کے چپراسیوں اور ہر ایک جگہ کے قلیوں سے اردو میں گفتگو کی۔ سب لوگ ہر جگہ بخوبی سمجھتے تھے اور اردو ہی میں جواب دیتے تھے۔ بعض بعض لفظوں کے مکرر سمجھانے کی اور زیادہ تر آسان طور پر بیان کرنے کی ضرورت پڑتی تھی۔ کچھ شبہ نہیں کہ تمام ہندوستان میں اردو زبان اسی طرح سمجھی اور بولی جاتی ہے جیسے تمام یورپ میں فرنچ بلکہ اس سے بھی زیادہ مروّج ہے، مگر میں نے ہر چند تلاش کیا وہ قدیم بھاشا جس کا رواج الہ آباد ایسوسی ایشن چاہتی ہے کہاں ہے، لیکن وہ مجھ کو کہیں نہیں ملی۔

The editor has modernized Sir Sayyid's original spelling, hence the differences from the nearly contemporary preceding passage (3).

1 *bulgām*: presumably Pulgaon, a town near Bombay. The U script is not always very helpful in determining the pronunciation of unfamiliar names.

2–3 *nihāyat*: both as an adj. 'extreme' and as an adv. 'extremely', this A loan is one of Sir Sayyid's favourite words, occurring several times on almost every page of his forceful prose.

3 *sāf*: here used as an adv. 'absolutely, very', similar in sense to *nihāyat*.

3 *ṭhanḍā bāsī*: 'cool-smelling', a rather unusually-formed compound adj., cf. 11 *acchā basī* 'sweet-smelling'.

4 *rel vālo*: 'you train-passengers!', like *pīne vālo* a vocative p.

5 *bartan bhī un brahmanoṅ ke* : 'and the pots as well of those Brahmans', illustrating both the common use of *bhī* as a sentence-linker (542b), and the way in which Sir Sayyid's hurried style often slips into the free word-order more characteristic of HU speech than formal writing.

6 *bit-taxsīs*: an A prepn. phrase (742).

8 *jīvan rām jādavā seṭh*: Jivan Ram is the personal name, Jadava (= Yadav) is a caste-name, and Seth the title commonly given to bankers or merchants.

9 *sākin-e kāmpaṭī*: 'resident of Kampati' (a town near Nagpur). This izafat phrase (841) is a typical fragment of U officialese, which is characterized by an abundance of such Persianisms. The style came naturally to Sir Sayyid, as a former district official, and colours much of his prose.

9 *pau (sabīl)*: the glossing of a typically Hindu word, implying a drinking-stand which must be operated by Brahmans to avoid pollution, by an A term suggesting a drinking-stand established for thirsty Muslims is striking testimony to the basic cultural divide which underlies the linguistic divide between H and U.

11 *dil meṅ baiṭh gaī*: 'deeply impressed itself upon me'.

12 *xās*: here 'leading'.

13 *biṭhā rakhī hai*: here *rakhnā* is used as a modal verb, cf. 14 *bandobast kar rakhā hai*, implying the sense of effective establishment, not simply that of physical placement.

14 *illā*: 'otherwise', an obsolete use of A *illā*, best known for its inclusion in the formula *lā ilāha illa-llāh* 'there is no god but God'. The modern U equivalent cj. is P *varnâ* 'otherwise'.

16 *apne mulk par*: i.e. Sir Sayyid's home-province (called the North-Western Provinces and Oudh until 1902, when it was re-named the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, until re-entitled Uttar Pradesh in 1947), as opposed to the 'foreign' parts made accessible to him by the newly constructed railways.

18 Rail-travellers have to change at Tundla Junction for Agra, at Moghul-sarai Junction for Benares. Sir Sayyid was obviously as impressed as modern enthusiasts by the splendours of nineteenth century Indian railway architecture.

21 *is taraf*: 'down here', i.e. where he has been travelling. The elite groups referred to are the Parsis, who are Gujarati-speaking Zoroastrians, and the Nagar Brahmans, another Gujarati-speaking community, while *dakhnī* 'Southerner' is a collective term perhaps indicating the way in which North Indians tend to lump all South Indians together.

22 *bangālī*: the westward spread of Bengali-speaking officials during the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century was an important factor in the contemporary cultural evolution of North India.

23 *bande ne*: the self-deprecating use of P *bandâ* 'slave' instead of the 1st person pronoun is one of those standard features of polite P usage which were transferred to U.

23 *ilāh-ābād*: the standard U spelling of Allahabad.

23 *kyā..., aur kyā..., aur kyā...*: 'whether in..., or whether in..., or whether in...', a simple rhetorical device very characteristic of Sir Sayyid's hectoring manner.

23 *caukiyāt*: the addition of the A p. suf. *-āt* to a native HU word is characteristic of U officialese (733). Although modern usage tends to employ the term *caukī* to designate a toll-post for the collection of local taxes, it here perhaps has the wider sense of an official post or station of any kind.

24 *mahkame ke caprāsiyoṅ*: 'peons of a law-court'.

25 *ba-xūbī*: a P prepn. phrase (843).

27 *faranc*: an accurate perception of the international role of French in nineteenth century Europe, but one unlikely to have occurred to many of Sir Sayyid's contemporaries in the parochial H and U worlds of North India.

28 *har-cand talāš kiyā*: 'however much I tried to find out', with a following *ki* being understood.

28 *ilāh-ābād aisosī-ešan*: the barbed reference is apparently to the Allahabad Committee formed a few years earlier under the secretaryship of Babu Saroda Prashad Sandial to act as a pressure-group demanding the replacement of U by H as the official language of the N.W.P.

5
Harishchandra: *Dillī darbār darpaṇ* (1877)

Despite the artificial boost given to Kharī Bolī Hindi by the activities at Fort William College, little real advance in its use had been achieved by the mid-nineteenth century. The time was ripe for the arrival of writers who would lend credence to the new style of Hindi by using it for a wide range of purposes, and by so doing establish it as a genuine vehicle of communication rather than a mere literary plaything such as the Braj dialect had effectively become.

This renaissance was led by Harishchandra of Benares, who in his brief lifespan (1850–85) devoted enormous energy to the fostering of new literary developments, including journalism, travelogue, drama, the essay and satire. As a devout Vaishnava he also maintained the old traditions by composing prodigious amounts of devotional verse in Braj Bhāṣā, and as a broadly-educated man of catholic tastes he also wrote in Urdu, and translated into Kharī Bolī Hindi many classics of Bengali and English literature. The title 'Bharatendu' or 'Moon of India' was bestowed on him in recognition of his distinguished career — or, according to anecdote, because of his somewhat rakish moral character (tainted, like the moon).

Harishchandra's education embraced English, Persian and Sanskrit, and he accordingly had a large linguistic arsenal at his disposal. He was opposed to the wholesale Sanskritization which was at an incipient stage in his lifetime, and which he rejected as elitist, and his Hindi contains a free and eclectic mixture of vocabulary. Any lack of stylistic polish in his prose is more than made good by his verve, his wry wit, and his unmistakable enthusiasm for his subject-matter.

Though Harishchandra was a tireless critic of British rule, and consequently never won official patronage, he nevertheless had an innate respect for aristocracy and royalty. A description of the Delhi Darbar of 1877, at which Queen Victoria was declared Queen-Empress of India, (and on which occasion Harishchandra acted as the Prince of Wales's guide to Benares) was therefore a natural choice of subject for him.

The tone of this passage shows Harishchandra as identifying closely with the patrician attitudes of the Viceregal party rather than with the comically described supplicant rajahs who came for audience with the imperial power. The first paragraph describes rather unkindly the provinciality and lack of finesse of those received at the Darbar, and their difficulties with the English protocol and language; one unfortunate is lampooned for his obsequiousness, another for his unfounded confidence in his own proficiency in English. Nor is the Viceroy's diplomatic but condescending air lost on Harishchandra. The passage ends with a description of the Maharani of Tanjore and her interpreter.

The text is from *Dillī darbār darpaṇ*, presumably first published in one of the Hindi journals published and edited by the author, but now collected with other essays in Kesarinarayan Shukla, *Bhāratendu ke nibandh* (Benares: Sarasvati Mandir, 1951), pp.78–91.

The linguistic and literary background is covered in R.S.McGregor, *Hindi literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974); for a more anecdotal account of Harishchandra's life see Madan Gopal, *Bharatendu Harishchandra* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1971).

बहुत से छोटे छोटे राजाओं की बोल चाल का ढंग भी, जिस समय वे वाइसराय से मिलने आए थे, संक्षेप के साथ लिखने के योग्य है। कोई तो दूर ही से हाथ जोड़े आए, और दो एक ऐसे थे कि जब एडिकांग के बदन झुकाकर इशारा करने पर भी उन्हों ने सलाम न किया तो एडीकांग ने पीठ पकड़ कर उन्हें धीरे से झुका दिया। कोई बैठ कर उठना जानते ही न थे, यहां तक कि एडिकांग को "उठो" कहना पड़ता था। कोई झंडा, तगमा, सलामी और खिताब पाने पर भी एक शब्द धन्यवाद का नहीं बोल सके और कोई बिचारे इन में से दो ही एक पदार्थ पा कर ऐसे प्रसन्न हुए कि श्रीयुत वाइसराय पर अपनी जान और माल निछावर करने को तैयार थे। सब से बढ़कर बुद्धिमान हमें एक महात्मा देख पड़े जिन से वाइसराय ने कहा कि आप का नगर तो तीर्थ गिना जाता है। पर हम आशा करते हैं कि आप इस समय दिल्ली को भी तीर्थ ही के समान पाते हैं। इस के जवाब में वह बेधड़क बोल उठे कि यह जगह तो सब तीर्थों से बढ़ कर है, जहां आप हमारे "खुदा" मौजूद हैं। नौबाब लुहारु की भी अंगरेजी में बात चीत सुन कर ऐसे बहुत कम लोग होंगे जिन्हें हंसी न आई हो। नौबाब साहिब बोलते तो बड़े बेधड़क धड़ाके से थे, पर उसी के साथ कायदे और मुहावरे के भी खूब हाथ पांव तोड़ते थे। कितने वाक्य ऐसे थे जिनके कुछ अर्थ ही नहीं हो सकते, पर नौबाब साहिब को अपनी अंगरेजी का ऐसा कुछ विश्वास था कि अपने मुंह से केवल अपने ही को नहीं वरन अपने दोनों लड़कों को भी अंगरेजी, अरबी, ज्योतिष, गणित आदि ईश्वर जाने कितनी विद्याओं का पंडित बखान गए। नौबाब साहिब ने कहा कि हम ने और रईसों की तरह अपनी उमर खेल कूद में नहीं गवाई वरन लड़कपन ही से विद्या के उपार्जन में चित्त लगाया और पूरे पंडित और कवि हुए। इस के सिवाय नौबाब साहिब ने बहुत से राजभक्ति के वाक्य भी कहे। वाइसराय ने उत्तर दिया कि हम आप की अंगरेजी विद्या पर इतना मुबारक बाद नहीं देते जितना अंगरेजों के समान आप का चित्र होने के लिये। फिर नौबाब साहिब ने कहा कि मैं ने इस भारी अवसर के वर्णन में अरबी और फारसी का एक पद्य ग्रंथ बनाया है जिसे मैं चाहता हूं कि किसी समय श्रीयुत को सनाऊं। श्रीयुत ने जवाब दिया कि मुझे भी कविता का बड़ा अनुराग है और मैं आपसा एक भाई कवि (Brother-Poet) देख कर बहुत प्रसन्न हुआ, और आप की कविता सुनने के लिये कोई अवकाश का समय अवश्य निकालूंगा।

२९ तारीख को सब के अन्त में महारानी तंजौर वाइसराय से मुलाकात को आईं। ये तास का सब वस्त्र पहने थीं और मुंह पर भी तास का नक़ाब पड़ा हुआ था। इसके सिवाय उन के हाथ पांव दस्ताने और मोजे से ऐसे ढंके थे कि सब के जी में उन्हें देखने की इच्छा ही रह गई। महारानी के साथ में उन के पति राजा सखाराम साहिब और दो लड़कों के सिवाय उन की अनुवादक मिसेस फर्थ भी थीं। महारानी ने पहले आकर वाइसराय से हाथ मिलाया और अपनी कुर्सी पर बैठ गईं। श्रीयुत वाइसराय ने उन के दिल्ली आने पर अपनी प्रसन्नता प्रगट की और पूछा कि आप को इतनी भारी यात्रा में अधिक कष्ट तो नहीं हुआ। महारानी अपनी भाषा की बोलचाल में बेगम भूपाल की तरह चतुर न थीं, इसीलिये ज़ियादा बातचीत मिसेस फर्थ से हुई, जिन्हें श्रीयुत ने प्रसन्न हो कर "मनभावनी अनुवादक" कहा। वाइसराय की किसी बात के उत्तर में एक बार महारानी के मुंह से "यस" निकल गया, जिस पर श्रीयुत ने बड़ा हर्ष प्रगट किया कि महारानी अंगरेजी भी बोल सकती हैं, पर अनुवादक मेम साहिब ने कहा कि वे अंगरेजी में दो चार शब्द से अधिक नहीं जानतीं।

Harishchandra's vocabulary register is very much dictated by the circumstances of the Darbar he is describing. On the one hand, descriptions of the rajahs' finery necessarily borrow heavily from the PA vocabulary of the courts of Northern India, while on the other the H rendering of E speeches gives a free reign to Harishchandra's Sanskritizing tendencies, such that even a Muslim Nawab is made to use such S expressions as *paṇḍit* and *kavi.*

1 *choṭe choṭe rājāoṅ*: 'petty princes' (542a).

1 *jis samay ve. . .āe the*: the change in grammatical subject from *bol cāl kā ḍhaṅg* to *rājā* causes a disjunction from the remainder of the sentence, and exemplifies the awkwardness of carelessly drafted subordinate clauses.

1 *vāisrāy*: this spelling of E '-roy' suggests its H cognate *rāy*.

2 *saṅkṣep ke sāth*: 'with brevity', an expression now generally replaced by *saṅkṣep meṅ*' 'in brief'.

2 *hāth joṛe*: 'with hands joined' (532b), i.e. performing the *namaskār*.

2 *do ek*: 'a few'. *ek* following a number gives the sense of 'approximately'; cf. 7 *do hī ek*, 'just a couple or so'.

3 *eḍikāṅg*: 'aide-de-camp'. The nazalized final vowel of the French term, transmitted through E, is realized not as a simple nazal *āṅ* but with a velar consonant; the modern preference would be for the initials 'A.D.C.'.

4 *koī baiṭh kar uṭhnā jānte hī na the*: 'some didn't even know to get up once they had sat down'.

5 *yahāṅ tak ki*: 'to the extent that, such that finally'.

5 *uṭho*: the *tum* imp. indicates the A.D.C.'s view of the rajahs' status.

5 *jhaṇḍā, tagmā, salāmī aur khitāb*: the tinselled trappings of royalty which the British in imitation of their Mughal predecessors dispensed to the native states in return for loyalty.

6 *ek śabd dhanyavād kā*: 'a word of thanks', calqued from the E (923).

8 *sab se baṛhkar buddhimān*: 'the cleverest of all'; *sab se baṛhkar* is an adv. expression qualifying adj. *buddhimān*. Cf. adv. *baṛhkar* in 10 *sab tīrthoṅ se baṛhkar* 'superior to all sacred sites'.

8 *mahātmā*: 'noble soul', here used sarcastically.

8 *dekh paṛe*: a rare usage of *dekhnā* as intransitive (= *dikhnā*).

9 *ham āśā karte haiṅ ki āp . . . pāte haiṅ*: 'We hope that you find', both verbal expressions no doubt calqued from the Viceroy's E reported here.

11 *naubāb luhāru*: 'the Nawab of Loharu' (a hundred miles to the west of Delhi). The title immediately precedes the place name, as E 'Lord': cf. 26 *mahārānī tanjaur* and 33 *begam bhūpāl.*

12 *bolte to baṛe bedhaṛak dhaṛāke se the*: 'he rattled away unhesitatingly': the disjunction of *bolte* from its auxiliary *the* suggests sarcastically that the speed of the Nawab's speech, which this word-order emphasizes, was not matched by its idiomatic accuracy.

13 *khūb hāth pāṅv toṛte the*: 'did grievous damage to . . .'.

14 *jinke kuch arth hī nahīṅ ho sakte*: *arth* is p. here — cf. p. *māne*.

16 *īśvar jāne kitnī vidyāoṅ kā paṇḍit bakhān gae*: 'praised . . . as authorities in God knows how many disciplines'. The joint object is 'himself' and 'his two sons', but as the object is marked with *ko*, the referent *paṇḍit* is singular. For the expression *īśvar jāne*, with subj. verb, cf. the similar *xudā jāne* and *na jāne*. In *bakhān gae, jānā* gives a sarcastic emphasis of thoroughness — 'praised fulsomely'.

17 *khel kūd*: 'fun and games' (524), here with a derogatory tone.

18 *vidyā ke upārjan meṅ citt lagāyā*: 'applied my mind to the acquisition of knowledge': notice the effective contrast of register with the colloquial *umar khel kūd meṅ nahīṅ gavāī* 'didn't fritter my life away in fun and games'.

19 *rājbhakti ke vākya: vākya* here has its primary meaning of 'statement, utterance', to which its more common modern H sense of 'sentence' is secondary.

21 *citra*: apparently meaning 'appearance' here.

21 *bhārī avsar*: 'momentous occasion'; cf. 32 *bhārī yātrā* 'onerous journey'.

24 *āpsā ek bhāī kavi* (brother poet) *dekh kar*: 'seeing a brother poet like you'; non-honorific s. *āpsā* catches the Viceroy's patronizing tone. Use of an E parenthesis is a common (if typographically awkward) way of glossing an unfamiliar expression such as the calque *bhāī kavi*.

25 *samay avaśya nikālūṅgā*: 'I will certainly find the time', subtly intimating a social pecking-order, with the Viceroy agreeing in a concessive tone to fit the Nawab into his busy schedule.

28 *sab ke jī meṅ... icchā rah gaī*: 'the desire remained in everyone's heart', i.e. was unfulfilled.

29 *un kī anuvādak mises pharth*: 'her interpreter Mrs Firth'. m. forms are often retained for f. subjects in occupational designations such as *anuvādak*; cf. the androgynous *pradhān mantrī*. In the case of occupations in which females figure more commonly, S f. forms are preferred: *adhyāpikā* 'schoolmistress' (m. *adhyāpak*), *kavayitrī* 'poetess' (m. *kavi*) etc.

30 *mises pharth*: note the HU realization of E *misez* (91).

31 *apnī prasanntā pragaṭ kī*: 'expressed his pleasure'. The spelling *pragaṭ* has been replaced by *tatsama prakaṭ* in standard H, and now has a rather archaic or rustic ring.

33 *begam bhūpāl*: the Begam of Bhopal was an Urdu poetess who wrote under the *taxallus* 'Rūp-ratan', and who was much favoured by Harishchandra.

33 *ziyādā*: the standard H spelling is now *zyādā*, with conjunct *zy*.

34 *manbhāvnī anuvādak*: 'charming interpreter'; the H expression is rather forced in its formal register, but is of course a translation of the Viceroy's formulaic E expression.

35 *mahārānī ke muṅh se 'yas' nikal gayā*: 'the word 'yas' popped out of the Maharani's mouth'. The Nagari spelling perfectly catches the familiar H-speaker's pronunciation of the one E word that everybody knows.

6
Altaf Husain Hali: *Muqaddimâ* (1893)

In both his life and his writings, Hali (1837–1914) symbolizes the transition of the Urdu literary tradition from its courtly past to the more serious and dominantly middle-class preoccupations of the past hundred years (*UL*, pp. 100–3). Born in Panipat (now in Haryana), Hali came as a young tutor to Delhi where he became close to Ghalib (3) in his last years, before moving to Lahore as a reviser of Urdu textbooks for the British. His return to Delhi brought him into association with Sir Sayyid (**4**), under the influence of whose reformist ideals the bulk of Hali's work was produced, notably his hugely popular epic poem, the *Musaddas* (1879).

Hali is best known for his poetry, largely composed in the 'natural' style he developed under the influence of English poetic ideals in conscious opposition to the elaborate artifice of classical Urdu poetry. He was also, however, a prose-writer of great distinction, and the author of important biographies of both Ghalib and Sir Sayyid. If the lucid organization of his prose style never quite matches Ghalib's throwaway elegance, it is much superior in fluency to Sir Sayyid's rough-hewn idiom and in ease of comprehension to the inflated writing of all too many of his Urdu contemporaries and successors.

The passage is taken from the lengthy introduction composed as a preface to the verse-collection of Hali's *Dīvān* (1893). Still the most outstanding piece of sustained literary criticism in Urdu, this has achieved separate status under the title *Muqaddimâ šiʿr o šāʿirī* or *'Introduction: on Poetry'*, and has as its central theme Hali's advocacy of his 'natural' style as the only possible medium for the serious and relevant poetry which he considered to be demanded by the circumstances of his time.

Summing up the mixed origins of Urdu with Hali's usual clarity and balance, the first paragraph ends with a memorable image, whose vivid use of everyday 'Hindi' words is both so characteristic of the simplifications entailed by Hali's literary ideals and in such contrast to the Persianized register of Urdu literary criticism apparent from the rest of the passage.

In the second paragraph, Hali — who was naturally very much a Delhi man — attacks the excessive linguistic purism so often associated with the Urdu preciosi of Lucknow. In the third, the same specific target serves to demonstrate Hali's usual good sense in the endless debate as to the 'correct' pronunciation of Arabic loan-words in Urdu, and to illustrate the technicalities of expression involved in any discussion of distinctions of vowel-quality in all languages written in the Arabic script.

The text is based on the edition of Vahid Quraishi, *Muqaddimâ šiʿr o šāʿirī* (Lahore: Maktaba Jadid, 1953), pp. 199–200.

The main arguments of the *Muqaddimâ* are usefully summarized in A. Bausani, 'Alṭāf Ḥusain Hālī's ideas on ghazal' in F. Tauer, ed., *Charisteria Orientalia* (Prague: N.Č.A.V., 1956), pp. 38–55.

اُردو پر قدرت حاصل کرنے کے لئے صرف دِلّی یا لکھنؤ کی زبان کا تتبع ہی کافی نہیں ہے بلکہ یہ بھی ضرور ہے کہ عربی اور فارسی میں کم سے کم متوسط درجہ کی لیاقت اور نیز ہندی بھاشا میں فی الجملہ دستگاہ بہم پہنچائی جائے ۔ اردو زبان کی بنیاد جیسا کہ معلوم ہے ہندی بھاشا پر رکھی گئی ہے ۔ اس کے تمام افعال اور تمام حروف اور غالب حصّہ اسما کا ہندی سے ماخوذ ہے ۔ اور اردو شاعری کی بنا فارسی شاعری پر جو عربی شاعری سے مستفاد ہے قائم ہوئی ہے ۔ نیز اردو زبان میں بہت بڑا حصّہ اسما کا عربی اور فارسی سے ماخوذ ہے ۔ پس اردو زبان کا شاعر جو ہندی بھاشا کو مطلق نہیں جانتا اور محض عربی و فارسی کے تان سے گاڑی چلاتا ہے وہ گویا اپنی گاڑی بغیر پہیوں کے منزلِ مقصود تک پہنچانی چاہتا ہے ۔ اور جو عربی فارسی سے نابلد ہے اور صرف ہندی بھاشا یا محض مادری زبان کے بھروسے پر اس بوجھ کا متحمل ہوتا ہے وہ ایک ایسی گاڑی ٹھیلتا ہے جس میں بیل نہیں جوتے گئے ۔

زبان کے متعلق ایک اور بات لحاظ کے قابل ہے ۔ نیچرل شاعری کے لئے جیسا کہ ظاہر ہے ہماری موجودہ زبان کافی نہیں ہے ۔ اس لئے ضرور ہے کہ اس میں وسعت پیدا کی جائے ۔ پس اہلِ لکھنؤ جو زبان کے دائرے کو روز بروز زیادہ تنگ کرتے جاتے ہیں، یہ امر مقتضائے وقت کے بالکل خلاف ہے ۔ لکھنؤ میں ایک صاحب نے ۱۸۹۰ء میں ایک رسالہ شعر و سخن کے متعلق لکھا ہے اس میں کچھ اوپر پچاس لفظ ایسے لکھے ہیں جن کو خود صاحبِ رسالہ اور اہلِ لکھنؤ واجب الترک خیال کرتے ہیں ۔ بعضے ان میں سے خاص لکھنؤ کے ساتھ مختص ہیں ۔ اہلِ دہلی کبھی اُس طرح نہیں بولتے جیسے "اندھیارا" "اندھیرے" کی جگہ ۔ "اُجیالا" "اُجالے" کی جگہ ۔ "کیونکر سے" "کیونکر" کی جگہ ۔ ایسے الفاظ کا ترک کرنا ہم بھی نہایت مناسب سمجھتے ہیں ۔ کیونکہ اس سے لکھنؤ اور دِلّی کی زبان میں مطابقت پیدا ہوتی ہے ۔ اگر اہلِ لکھنؤ ایسے الفاظ ترک کرنے پر آمادہ ہوں تو ہم بہت سے الفاظ حاضر کر سکتے ہیں ۔ ایسے الفاظ ترک کرنے سے زبان کی وسعت میں بھی کچھ ایسا فرق نہیں آتا ۔

اسی رسالہ میں بعضے ایسے الفاظ کو واجب الترک قرار دیا ہے جو اصل زبان کی گرمیر یا قیاسِ لغوی کے خلاف برتے اور بولے جاتے ہیں ۔ جیسے "موسم" بفتح سین، یا "میّت" بفتح یا، یا "نشا" بروزنِ "وفا" کہ عربی گرمیر یا لغت کے موافق "موسم" بروزنِ "مسجد" اور "میّت" بکسرۂ یا، اور "نشأۃ" بروزنِ "وحدت" ہے لیکن فی الحقیقت یہ ایک غلطی ہے جو اکثر ہمارے عربی دانوں کو "علمِ لسان" کی ناواقفیت سے پیش آتی ہے ۔ ان کو یہ معلوم نہیں کہ ایک زبان کے الفاظ دوسری زبان میں منتقل ہو کر کبھی اپنی اصلی صورت پر قائم نہیں رہ سکتے ۔ اِلّا ماشاءَ اللہ ۔

1 *sirf...*, *balki...*: the re-emphasis of this implicit PA contrast by the characteristic HU enclitics ...*hī*..., ...*bhī*... is to be noted (542b + 846).

1 *dillī yā lakhnaū kī zabān*: the nineteenth century debate between these nicely prescribed two urban standards of correct U usage still has a certain life.

2 *kam se kam mutavassit darje kī liyāqat*: a phrase nicely implying both Hali's views on the need to down-play PA elements in U and his famous personal modesty.

2–4 *hindī bhāšā*: as so often in U usage, this implies the non-PA 'Hindi' component of U, rather than the modern sense of 'the Hindi language'.

4 *af'āl*: the adaptations of inherited A grammatical terminology to the very different norms of U are outlined in the final note to **10** below.

7 *mutlaq nahīṅ*: the A adj. *mutlaq* 'absolute' functions in U exactly like the P adv. *hargiz* 'ever' as a strong negative reinforcer.

8 *ke tān*: 'under the pull of', a typically Hali-ish coinage from HU *tānnā* 'to pull', which deliberately sets up the demoticizing vocabulary involved in the expansion of his bullock-cart image.

11 *necral*: this E loan is to be understood in the context not only of Hali's own passionate advocacy of a 'natural' U poetic style, but also of the attacks levelled by traditionalists against his mentor Sir Sayyid, whose attempts to re-interpret Islam in the light of Victorian natural science led his followers to be described as *necarī*, a coinage then much more opprobrious in U than 'naturist' ever was in E.

12 *vus'at*: 'breadth, expansion', an A loan-word nicely serving both to underline Hali's argument in favour of allowing due weight to its 'H element' and to introduce his gradually built-up case against nice Arabicisms in U.

13 *tang karte jāte haiṅ*: 'keep on restricting', a characteristically Delhi-centred expression of resentment at the continuing pretensions of precious Lucknow 'authorities' to determine correct U usage in the light of artificially upheld PA norms.

14 *muqtazā-e vaqt*: 'the demands of the time', a phrase very typical of urgent perceptions of Sir Sayyid and his disciples.

15 *ši'r o suxan* 'poetry', lit. 'verse & word', a PA copular phrase (842) very common in U.

15 *kuch ūpar pacās*: the obvious rendering 'somewhat over 50' provides a nice instance of the ways in which E phrasal syntax may sometimes happen to coincide with HU patterns.

16 *sāhib-e risālâ*: 'the gentleman who wrote the essay', ironically picking up 14 *ek sāhib* at the same time as illustrating a typical U use of the P izafat-phrase format (841).

16 *vājibut-tark*: 'to be eschewed', cf. 18 *tark karnā* 'to eschew'. Such A possessive phrases (741) beginning with *vājib* are often formally comparable with the PA prepn. phrases (844) beginning with *qābil-e* which so often indicate U calques from E '-able', e.g. *qābil-e bardāšt* = 'tolerable'. As often in U, however, the A formation is stricter in implication, e.g. *vājibul-qatl* 'deserving of execution'.

16 *ba'ze*: the familiar A *ba'z* 'some' is extended with the P indefinite suf. *-e*, cf. common phrase *ba-qaul-e šaxs-e* 'in someone's words'.

17 When writers on correct U usage move outside the formally studied areas of A and P grammar, they tend to rely simply on feel, as in the support given here by Hali to the standard Delhi forms *andherā* 'darkness', *ujālā* 'light, dawn', *kyoṅkar* 'how?', vs. Lucknow *andhiyārā*, *ujiyālā*, *kyoṅkar se*. Cognate forms of the first two pairs are listed in the *CDIAL*, under 386 *andhakāra-* and 1673 * *ujjvālaka-*: these show how, as quite often, the HU area is split down the middle, with 'Delhi' forms resembling those of western NIA languages and 'Lucknow' forms those of the eastern languages.

19 *ham bhī*: the editorial 'we' is much more natural in HU than in modern E usage.

24 *graimar*: long established from elementary E classes as a fully naturalized f. noun in U, where it is much more commonly used than the grander PA copular phrase *sarf o nahv* f.

24–26 Hali's sensible support for the U pronunciations *mausam* 'weather', *mayyat* 'corpse', *našā* 'development', vs. A *mausim*, *mayyit*, *naš'at*, has to be somewhat cumbrously expressed, given the nature of the A script.

The three short vowels *a i u* are indicated by the signs called *fath(â)*, *kasrâ*, *zammâ* in A (= P *zabar*, *zer*, *peš*): hence 24 *ba-fath-e sīn* 'with an "a" on the "s", 26 *ba-kasrâ-e yā* 'with an "i" under the "y".

An easier way to indicate the pronunciation of A words is by referring to their *vazn*, the pattern according to which they are formed by root-modification through the insertion of vowels: hence 25 *bar-vazn-e 'vafā'* 'on the pattern of '*vafā*', i.e. *-a-ā*, *bar-vazn-e 'masjid'* 'on the pattern of '*masjid*', i.e. *-a-i-*, 26 *bar-vazn-e 'vahdat'* 'on the pattern of '*vahdat*', i.e. *-a--at*, indicating the pronunciation of the *tā marbūtâ* (711) as *-t*.

27 *'ilm-e lisān*: 'science of language, philology', an izafat phrase replaced in modern U by the coinage *lisāniyāt* f. 'linguistics' (733).

29 *illā māšallāh*: 'except as God pleases', an A formula (743) conventionally used to disclaim any power of the human mind to fathom the mysteries of divine omnipotence. Passage **1** concludes with a similar P tag.

7

Badrinarayan Upadhyay 'Premghan': *Hamare deś kī bhāṣā aur akṣar* (1895)

Before the development of a Western-derived narrative tradition in the early twentieth century, the most important medium for the nascent style of modern Hindi prose was polemical journalism; its often disputatious content was well suited to the new writers with their love for the grandiloquent diction characteristic of essay-writers and polemicists the world over. Among the most energetic writers and journal-editors of this class was Premghan (1855–1922), born in Mirzapur (on the Ganges between Benares and Allahabad), an associate of Harishchandra (**5**). In the spirit of the nineteenth century Hindu revivalist movements, Premghan looked back to the much-admired golden age of Indian culture, not hesitating to find fault with its modern manifestations in his contemporary compatriots. He also looked askance at the British presence, which he regarded as self-seeking and exploitative; and he was at once supportive and critical of the rising star of Congress, a favourite theme in his essays.

Given the circumstances of the time, in which the question of language was becoming increasingly tied up with that of communalism, it was natural for journalists to turn rather incestuously upon their own medium when choosing subjects to write about; and Premghan was typical in his passionate commitment to discussing language and the social and cultural implications of its use. Despite its dated style his Hindi is a delight to read because of its richness of expression and because of the gusto with which the author throws himself body and soul into the chosen issues.

The essay *Hamāre deś kī bhāṣā aur akṣar* argues the case for the use of Hindi in the Nagari script in official contexts. The essay has a double purpose: firstly to act as a pro-Hindi polemic, secondly to stir the author's listless compatriots into action in defence of their own culture and language. His main argument is the unintelligibility of the Perso-Arabic script to the majority of the population, and the problems which would ensue from introducing the use of the Roman script as a compromise between the proponents of Urdu and Hindi respectively.

The first paragraph describes the plight of the North-Western Provinces where British policy promoted the use of Urdu at an official level. Premghan exaggeratedly describes the confusions which arise as a result of the misreading of Perso-Arabic words written in the prevalent shorthand of legal documents, citing some delightful (if rather far-fetched) howlers in support of his argument.

The second paragraph goes further into the context of litigation, contrasting the vernacular submissions of the plaintiffs with the high-flown Urdu of the court officials; he points out how the system can be manipulated to trick the ignorant public, at the same time pulling the wool over the eyes of the naive British adjudicator who is led to approve judgements framed in a flowery language completely beyond his comprehension.

The text is included in P.P. Upadhyay and D.N. Upadhyay, *Premghan sarvasva* vol.2 (Allahabad: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1950), pp. 51–53. For the background to Premghan's journalistic and literary work see R.S. McGregor, *Hindi literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), pp.87–88.

बृटिश राज्य की निर्मल नीति की प्रभा से भारत वर्ष के प्रायः समस्त प्रदेश और प्रान्तों में प्रादेशिक और प्रान्तिक भाषायें प्रचरित हैं, परन्तु आश्चर्य कि अभागे पश्चिमोत्तर प्रदेश में उर्दू (जो अरबी, पारसी, तुरकी आदि कई भाषाओं की पंचमेल खिचड़ी सी है) और अरबी के अक्षर प्रचरित हैं। यह उर्दू भाषा इन्हीं अरबी अक्षरों में लिखी जाने से अब मानों अरबी पारसी की छोटी बहिन हो गई है। कारण इसका यह है कि अरबी पारसी आदि के शब्दों के अतिरिक्त अन्य भाषाओं के शब्द प्रथम तो उसमें अत्यन्त कठिनता से लिखे जाते, और शुद्ध शुद्ध पढ़े तो कदाचित जाते ही नहीं; जिसके बीसों उदाहरण नित्य लोगों को मिलते हैं। इसी भाँति अरबी और पारसी के शब्द भी प्रायः हिन्दी शब्द के भ्रम से अशुद्ध और अयथार्थ पढ़े जाते हैं, जैसे आलूबुखारा को "उल्लू बिचारा" और हाजी पुर इटौना को "चाची तो बिटौना" पढ़ा जाता है। निदान अरबी अक्षर और उर्दू भाषा मिल कर इस देश का एक प्रकार सत्यानाश किये डालते हैं। न तो घसीट के अक्षर बड़े बड़े मौलवियों से पढ़े जाते, और न वह भाषा सामान्यों के समझ में आती ! अरबी अक्षरों के कारण वह इतनी कठिन हो गई है कि उसे पारसी कहने में कुछ भी अयथार्थ न होगा। यही कारण है कि क्या ग्रामीण और क्या नागरिक सामान्यजन, जिन्हें विशेष कार्यालयों से सम्बन्ध नहीं है, जब कोई कचहरी के उर्दू लिखे कागज पाते तो वे उसे लिये गाँव गाँव और गली गली घूमते फिरते और चाहे पचास पारसी पढ़ों से पढ़ावें, परन्तु जब तक कोई कचहरी का घसीट अक्षर पढ़ने वाला न मिले, कदापि उसका अर्थ उन्हें नहीं ज्ञात होता। इसके अतिरिक्त अरबी, पारसी आदि भाषाओं के गूढ़ शब्दों के अर्थ समझाने वाले की भी अपेक्षा होती ही है।

न केवल यहीं से इति है, वरंच अभियोगों में प्रायः जो ग्राम्यजन साक्ष्य प्रदानार्थ आते तो वे बोलते तो कुछ और लिखा जाता है कुछ, बिचारा साक्षी तो कहता है कि - "मोरे घरे के नियरे", शरिस्तेदार साहिब लिखेंगे - "मुत्तसिल खानः मुजिहिर"। तब यदि यह इज़हार साक्षी को सुनाया भी जाय, तो वह क्या समझेगा ? फिर न केवल साक्षी मात्र, वरंच बहुतेरे नवीनागत इंग्लिस्थानी साहिब लोग भी यह अबुलफ़ज़ली इबारत नहीं समझ सकते, और न बारम्बार उसका अर्थ ही वाचक से पूंछ सकते ! क्योंकि इसके लिये तो फिर उन्हें अपने शरिस्तेदार साहिब को मौलाना का पद देने, और स्वयम् शिष्य बन कर नित्य उनसे पाठ पढ़ने के अतिरिक्त उन्हें अन्य कार्य का अवसर ही नहीं मिल सकेगा। पुलीस की रिपोर्ट और कैफ़ियत आदि में भी प्रायः उस्ताद अमले लोग ऐसा ही किया करते कि विशुद्ध मर्म्म स्थल पर कोई अरबी आदि का ऐसा कठिन शब्द ढूंढ़ कर ला घुसेड़ देते कि प्रधान साहिब बहादुर समझी न सके हों, और यदि पूछें तो अण्ड का बण्ड अर्थ बता उन्हें पछाड़ दिया। यों ही ऐसे ऐसे भी शब्द ढूंढ़ कर समय पर कार्य में ला देते कि जो दो वा तीन प्रकार पर पढ़ा जाता, लिखा तो कुछ और पढ़ दिया कुछ और ! दस्तावेजों के लिखने लिखाने में भी इससे बड़े बड़े असम्भव कार्य सम्भव कर दिये जाते और चार बार भी सुना देने से बिचारे भोले गवहिये और अपढ़ ठग लिये जाते हैं। रजिस्ट्रार साहिब भी सुना कर केवल स्वीकार मात्र पूंछ लेते और "हाँ" सुन कर लेखनी से उन पर अज्ञात छुरी चला देते हैं।

Premghan's language is dominated by the S register which parallels the high PA register forming the butt for his diatribe; the fact that the most effective phrases in the passage are those based on native HU Patterns is thus in keeping with his message but not with his Sanskritized medium. Some archaisms of usage and spelling betray the nineteenth century date of the piece.

1 *bṛtiś*: a hyper-Sanskritized spelling with *ṛ* for *ri*.

1 *bṛtiś rājy kī nirmal nīti kī prabhā se*: 'through the radiance of the immaculate polity of British rule'. *prabhā* begins an extravagant alliterative sequence of 'p' sounds typifying Premghan's rhetorical style.

1 *pradeś . . . prānt*: best translated as 'region' and 'province' respectively — cf. adj. *prādeśik* and *prāntik*. The technical sense of *pradeś* as a 'state' follows the post-Independence re-drawing of the map of India.

2 *pracarit*: 'current, used'. Synonymous *pracalit* is now preferred.

2 *paścimottar pradeś*: North-Western Provinces, modern U.P.

3 *khicaṛī*: (> Anglo-Indian 'kedgeree') 'hotch-potch' — the derogatory sense being further strengthened by adj. *pañcmel* (lit. 'composite of five elements'), 'mixed, miscellaneous', and by the dismissive *ādi kaī bhāṣāoṅ* 'and several other such languages'.

4 *yah urdū bhāṣā*: the pr. adds a subtle touch of distaste, as though describing some unclean object held gingerly between thumb and forefinger.

5 *kāraṇ iskā yah hai*: the inversion stresses the noun, 'the reason for this is'. Cf. the different emphasis of 13 *yahī kāraṇ hai* 'this is why'.

6 *śuddh śuddh paṛhe to kadācit jāte hī nahīṅ*: 'can hardly at all be read really accurately'. The disjunction of *paṛhe* from *jāte* accommodates the separate but complementary emphases of *to* and *hī* respectively (542b).

8 *hindī śabd ke bhram se*: 'through confusion with a H word'.

9 *ālū bukhārā . . . ullū bicārā*: the misreading derives from the minimalist representation in the rapid *šikastâ* script (used for legal documents etc.) of PA characters. Since the dots are generally omitted in this shorthand, *jīm, ce* and *xe* appear as the undotted *baṛī he*, nor is *pe* distinct from *be*, etc.

9 *hājī pur iṭaunā*: presumably referring to the two town names Hajipur (near Patna) and Itaunia (near Lucknow).

9 *cācī to biṭaunā*: a meaningless collocation, 'auntie then little son' (*biṭaunā* being a diminutive of *beṭā*).

11 *ghasīṭ ke akṣar*: 'scribbled characters': cf. 16 *kacharī kā ghasīṭ akṣar* i.e. 'scribbled court shorthand'.

12 *sāmānyoṅ ke samajh meṅ*: though here used as m., *samajh* is normally f., like most nouns deriving from verbs.

13 *kyā grāmīṇ aur kyā nāgarik sāmānyajan*: a comma after *nāgarik* would elucidate the syntax, 'ordinary folk, be they villagers or townspeople'.

16 *pārsī paṛhoṅ*: the p.obl. of ptc. *paṛhā* is here used nominally to mean 'one who is literate in P, P-reader': cf. the more regular 16 *paṛhne vālā*.

19 *na keval yahīṅ se iti hai*: 'nor does the matter end here'. S *iti*, like Latin *fīnis*, marks the conclusion of a text or speech, and by extension can mean 'end' more generally.

19 *sākṣya pradānārth*: 'in order to give evidence', *pradān* 'giving' + *arth* 'purpose', in sandhi combination (611).

20 *bolte to kuch aur likhā jātā hai kuch*: 'they say one thing and something different is written down'. Cf. 30 *likhā to kuch aur paṛh diyā kuch aur* (in which the first *aur* is a cj., the second an adv.).

20 *more ghare ke niyare*: 'near my house'. Pr. *more* (cf. HU *mere*), inflected obl. *ghare*, and ppn. *niyare* (< S. *nikaṭe*) are all Avadhi forms.

21 *muttasil khānaḥ mujihir*: P *muttasil-e xānâ-e muzhir*, 'adjacent to the abode of the deponent', strikingly distinct in register from the Avadhi. The use of *visarg* (511) to represent the P silent *he* is ingenious, but not a standard transliteration.

22 *na keval sākṣī mātra*: a taulogical construction, with enclitic *mātra* duplicating the sense of *keval*. Cf. 33 *keval svīkār mātra*.

23 *iṅglisthānī*: a Sanskritized spelling for P *iṅglistānī*. Cf. P *-stān* in 'Pakistan' vs S *-sthān* in 'Rajasthan'.

23 *abulfazalī*: grand Mughal terminology as associated with Akbar's great minister Abul Fazl (1551–1602).

24 *pūṅch sakte*: the tendency for long vowels to be nasalized in pronunciation is shown graphically here.

25 *maulānā kā pad dene*: the obl.inf. anticipates ppn. *ke atirikt*.

26 *pulīs*: though *-ī-* reflects more closely the E pronunciation, modern standard H has *pulis*. Cf. also colloquial *rapaṭ* for *riporṭ*.

27 *viśuddh marmm sthal par*: 'at the absolutely most vital point'.

28 *ḍhūṅṛh kar lā ghuseṛ dete*: roughly 'sought out, dredged up and dragged into use' — a wonderfully expressive verbal phrase.

28 *pradhān sāhib bahādur*: *pradhān* is here used nominally as 'the president (of court)'. *bahādur* following a name is a title equivalent to 'the honourable', here with a nice touch of sarcasm.

29 *samjhī na sake hoṅ*: the verb stem is the unextended *samajh-*, the final *-ī* being an agglutinated emphatic enclitic: cf. *us/usī* etc.

30 *jo do vā tīn prakār par paṛhā jātā*: 'which can be read in two or three ways'.

31 *isse baṛe baṛe asaṃbhav kārya saṃbhav kar diye jāte*: 'in this way, wholly impossible things were made possible' (542a).

33 *keval svīkār mātra pūṅch lete*: 'would ask for nothing more than confirmation', i.e. would not attempt a full analysis of the evidence.

34 *un par ajñāt churī calā dete haiṅ*: 'runs an unknown knife into them', i.e. has no inkling of the harm his judgment may be doing them.

8
Balmukund Gupta: *Hindī meṅ bindī* (1900)

The essayist and journal editor Balmukund Gupta (1865–1907) was in many ways a successor to Harishchandra, with whom he shared a Vaishya background and a schooling in Urdu. As with his older contemporary, much of the lasting interest of his work derives from the broadness of his upbringing: born in the Panjab, he spent much of his life in Calcutta; he translated Bengali and Sanskrit works into Hindi, and in the course of his career in journalism he broached a wide range of subjects from the serious to the frivolous. His views on language were often diametrically opposed to those of such establishment figures as Mahavirprasad Dwivedi (**12**) and the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (N.P.S.), the Society for the Promulgation of Nagari (i.e. Sanskritized Hindi in the Nagari script) set up in Benares in 1893.

A strong personality shows through Gupta's writing. On the one hand he is a forceful advocate of the use of Hindi, whose cause he championed in the Calcutta journal *Bhāratmitra* which he edited from 1899 to 1907; on the other, he is strongly critical of what he sees as the foolish attempts at the standardization of Hiṅdi style made by Dwivedi and others. He writes with a passion that indicates a strong sense of mission.

Typical of Gupta's *Bhāratmitra* pieces on language is the short article '*Hindī meṅ bindī*' which appeared in 1900. The very pithiness of the title is portentious of the acerbity which is to follow, when Gupta criticises the pronouncement of the N.P.S. regarding the use of diacritically marked Nagari characters to transliterate Persian and Arabic phonemes.

Gupta's provocative remarks begin with a mocking statement of the N.P.S.'s proposal to differentiate z and j graphically by the use of dotted characters. His contempt for this recommendation is matched only by his brazen dismissal of the very need for such a practice even in Persian. In the second paragraph he discusses the difficulties even writers of Urdu have in distinguishing the various /z/ forms, and points out that the use of a single dotted Nagari graph for /z/ is an oversimplified attempt at transliterating the extensive range of /z/ characters in the Persian script. The result of the N.P.S. policy, he maintains, would be an anarchic situation in which some people used dotted forms and some did not — a fairly accurate prediction of the present reality, through Gupta's vision of chaos proves to have been rather too apocalyptic.

In the final paragraph, Gupta draws attention to some earlier writers who had contracted the 'sickness' of using dotted Nagari characters, and discusses their use by people who are not literate in Urdu and whose solecisms in the use of the dotted forms betray this ignorance.

The essay is reprinted in Onkar Sarad (ed.), *Bālmukund Gupta ke śreṣth nibandh, cit̤the aur khat* (Allahabad: Vividh Bharati Prakashan, 1976), pp. 22–24. For details of Gupta's output see R.S. McGregor, *Hindi literature in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974) pp.88–89. For the background of the N.P.S., see *LCND*, chapter III.

काशी की नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा हिन्दी में 'बिन्दी' चलाना चाहती है। यह 'बिन्दी' अक्षर के ऊपर नहीं, नीचे हुआ क़रेगी। ऐसी 'बिन्दी' लगाने का मतलब यह है कि उससे उर्दू शब्द हिन्दी में शुद्ध लिखे पढ़े जायँ। हिन्दी में खाली 'ज' होता है और उर्दू में 'जीम', 'जाल', 'जे' और बड़ी 'जे', 'ज्वाद' और 'जोय'। 'जीम' के सिवा इन सब उर्दू अक्षरों का उच्चारण 'जे' के उच्चारण के तुल्य होता है। 'जे' का उच्चारण जिह्वा के ऊपर के दाँतों के साथ मिलने से होता है। नागरी-प्रचारिणी वाले चाहते हैं कि हिन्दी के 'ज' के नीचे एक बिन्दी लगाकर उर्दू की 'जे' का उच्चारण करें। हिन्दी में ऐसा उच्चारण नहीं है, क्योंकि वास्तव में 'जे' - 'जीम' ही का विकार है। वह फारसी वालों के कण्ठ की खराबी के सिवा और कुछ नहीं है। उस खराबी को नागरी-प्रचारिणी हिन्दी में भी धँसाना चाहती है। परन्तु इस धँसाने से क्या लाभ है, इसका पता ठीक नहीं लगता।

'जे' -'जाल' की खराबी उर्दू में यहाँ तक है कि बहुत लोग वर्षों शिक्षा पाने तथा लुगातों को कीड़ों की तरह चाट जाने पर भी 'जे'-'जाल' का भेद ठीक-ठीक नहीं जान सकते। कितनी ही बार वह इस झगड़े में पड़ते हैं कि अमुक शब्द 'जाल' से है या 'जे' से। जब स्वयं उर्दू जानने वालों की यह खराबी है, तो नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा हिन्दी को पराये काँटों में क्यों घसीटना चाहती है? लज्जत, 'जाल' से होती है, लाजिम 'जे' से और जरूर 'ज्वाद' से और जाहिर 'जोय' से। नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा के रूल से एक बिन्दी लगाने से सबका उच्चारण शुद्ध हो गया! परन्तु इसमें 'जाल', 'ज्वाद' और 'जोय' की क्या पहचान रही? यदि 'जाल' 'ज्वाद' 'जोय' का फर्क रखना मंजूर नहीं है, तो बिन्दी लगाने की जरूरत नहीं और यदि उन सब में भेद समझा जाता है, तो फिर 'जाल' 'ज्वाद' 'जोय' की कुछ पहचान रहनी चाहिये। नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा वालों से हमारा यह प्रश्न है कि इस बिन्दी से उर्दू न जानने वालों का क्या उपकार होता है? वह कैसे जानेंगे कि किस शब्द के नीचे बिन्दी लगाना चाहिये? क्या आप लोग बिन्दी लगा-लगाकर उर्दू शब्दों का उनके लिये कोष तैयार कर देंगे? और हिन्दी पढ़े हुए उसे मियाँ मिट्ठू की तरह दिन-भर रटा करेंगे? यदि ऐसा होगा तब तो आप लोगों की हिन्दी खुदा के फजल से उर्दू से भी सरल हो जायगी और तीन महीने की जगह तीन-तीये नौ वर्ष में सीखी जायगी और यदि उर्दू न जानने वालों को 'बिन्दी' न आवेगी तो आप लोगों की हिन्दी में लबड़-धौंधौं मच जायगी। कोई 'बिन्दी' लगावेगा, कोई नहीं लगावेगा।

बिन्दी की बीमारी नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा के जन्म के पहले भी लोगों में हो चुकी है। बृन्दावन-निवासी पण्डित राधाचारणजी गोस्वामी ने नागरीदासजी-कृत 'इश्क चमन' छापा था। उसमें उन्होंने उर्दू शब्दों में खूब बिन्दी की भरमार की थी, यहाँ तक कि जिन शब्दों के नीचे बिन्दी नहीं लगानी चाहिये, उनके नीचे भी उन्होंने 'बिन्दी' लगा दी थी। स्वर्गवासी पण्डित प्रतापनारायण मिश्र उसे पढ़ते-पढ़ते लोट-पोट हो गये थे और कहा था कि "यह 'बिन्दी' की बीमारी हिन्दी वालों को अच्छी लगी! यह उनको दूर तक खराब करेगी।" नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा ही के मेम्बरों में एक बहुत बड़े आदमी हैं, जो अंग्रेजी-हिन्दी के बड़े पण्डित हैं। वह वकील शब्द में'बड़ा काफ' बोलते थे। वह यह समझते थे कि 'बड़ा काफ' बोलने ही से उर्दू हो जाती है। हमने उनको समझाया कि साहब! वकील 'छोटे काफ' से ही है, बड़े से नहीं। इसी तरह बिन्दी की बीमारी में पड़कर उर्दू न जानने वालों को बड़ी ठोकरें खानी पड़ती हैं।

Despite his palpable prejudice against the PA heritage of U, Gupta's own language in this passage is relatively eclectic in its borrowings. The phonetic background to his arguments can be summarized as follows: (a) Standard U has two graphically distinct phonemes, *q* and *k*, whereas H effectively has only *k*, from which *q* can be graphically differentiated only by a diacritic. (b) Similarly, U has two strongly distinct phonemes *j* and *z*, the latter represented by the four graphemes *zāl, ze, zvād* and *zoe* plus a semi-distinct *ž* (*že*); H effectively has only *j*, with *z* differentiated only by a diacritic. Gupta argues against the alleged necessity of distinguishing graphically the semi-distinct *z* and *q* in H; but his argument wrongly assumes that the purpose of the diacritic marks is to distinguish PA graphemes, whereas in fact it distinguishes U phonemes (511, 512).

1 *kāśī*: 'the resplendent' — this is the classical name, preferred in religious contexts, for the town otherwise known as *vārāṇasī* (whose MIA form *banāras* (E 'Benares') is now out of fashion in Sanskritized H, though common in current speech).

1 *calānā*: 'bring into use, introduce': cf. the increasingly disparaging 2 *lagānā* 'impose', 9 *dhaṅsānā* 'to stick in'.

1 *akṣar ke ūpar nahīṅ, nīce huā karegī*: 'will not be above the character [as *anusvār*, the only S convention to use the dot] but below it'. The use of *huā karnā*, implying 'regular occurrence', has a sarcastic edge: 'is to be regularly placed below the character, [if you please!]'.

4 *baṛī je*: adj. designations of this kind are essential in H when two or more U morphemes are assimilated to a single one in H; cf. 34 '*baṛā kāf*' and 35 '*choṭā kāf*' for *qāf* and *kāf* respectively.

5 *jihvā ke ūpar ke dāṅtoṅ ke sāth milne se*: 'by the tongue meeting the upper teeth' — *ūpar ke* is an adj. phrase qualifying *dāṅtoṅ* which, like *jihvā ke*, qualifies *milne se*.

6 *nāgarī-pracāriṇī vāle*: 'the N.P.S. people' — a deliberately curt and unflattering reference. Cf. 8 *phārsī vāloṅ*.

7 *hindī meṅ aisā uccāraṇ nahīṅ hai*: this begs the question entirely, since it allows of no differentiation between H and S phonologies.

7 *'je' – 'jīm' kā hī vikār hai*: here and in the following sentence the author betrays the depth of his prejudice, in which non-S phonemes are dismissed as aberrations. Note the separation of subject *je* by punctuation, a clumsy device which careful drafting would have made unnecessary.

12 *kīṛoṅ kī tarah*: HU has not needed the help of E in arriving at the image of the 'book-worm', a literal and voracious reality in the libraries of tropical countries.

13 *amuk śabd 'jāl' se hai yā 'je' se*: 'so and such a word is [spelt] with *zāl* or *ze*'. There is no convenient HU equivalent for E 'to spell'.

14 *parāye kāṅṭoṅ meṅ ghasīṭnā*: 'to drag amongst someone else's thorns', i.e. to involve unnecessarily in the predicaments of others. 'N.P.S.' is subject, 'H' is object.

16 *nāgarī pracāriṇī sabhā ke rūl se*: a delightfully unselfconscious borrowing of E 'rule', given the concentration in this passage on the implications of word origins (922).

18 *jarūrat*: a nicely incorporated example supporting Gupta's thesis that diacritical marks are redundant in transcribing PA words into Nagari.

20 *is bindī se urdū na jānne vāloṅ kā kyā upkār hai?*: this rhetorical question has a straightforward answer, namely that the dot distinguishes *z* from *j* in loanwords.

21 *vah kaise jāneṅge ki kis śabd ke nīce bindī lagānā cāhiye?*: a legitimate answer to this would be, 'By the same minimal degree of knowledge of etymological spelling conventions that is necessary for the correct differentiation of e.g. *ś* and *ṣ* in S words used in H'. Gupta's implication that this knowledge depends on actual literacy in PA is an overstatement.

21 *bindī lagā-lagākar*: 'by constantly applying the dot' (542a).

22 *miyāṅ miṭṭhū*: 'Mr Sweet-talker', pet name for a parrot (E 'Pretty Polly')

23 *hindī khudā ke phajal urdū se bhī saral ho jāegī*: 'by God's grace H will become even easier than U' — *'saral'* is of course sarcastic, with an additional irony in the specifically U *khudā ke phajal*.

24 *tīn tīye nau*: 'three times three, nine'.

26 *koī 'bindī' lagāvegā, koī nahīṅ lagāvegā*: an accurate prediction, but one whose outcome causes no more confusion than does e.g. the use of intervocalic *-v-* as a variant form for *-y-* (or zero) in e.g. *lagāvegā*.

28 *nāgarīdās-kṛt 'iśk caman'*: 'Nagaridas' was the pen-name of Savantsingh (1699–1764), Rajah of the Rajput state of Kishangarh; he relinquished the throne in 1757 to live a life of devotion to Radha (or 'Nagari', 'the urbane one'). He wrote much Braj Bhāṣā verse, but used P for his poem *'Iśq caman* or *'Garden of Love'*.

32 *yah bindī kī bīmārī hindī vāloṅ ko acchī lagī*: 'the *H-vālās* have got a really good dose of this 'dot' disease!'.

35 *sāhab!*: a good example of a technically honorific expression being used for precisely the opposite effect.

9
D.C. Phillott: *Xwāb o xayāl* (1910)

The work from which this passage is taken has a somewhat curious background. One Sita Ram Pande, a Brahman from Avadh like so many of the native troops who ensured British victory in the numerous wars fought in India in the early nineteenth century, is alleged to have composed his memoirs in old age, in about 1861. This Hindi version has, however, never come to light: and the work first appeared in an English version by Sita Ram's former commanding officer under the title *From Sepoy to Subedar* in 1873, when its 'old-soldier' loyalist tone ensured an enthusiastic reception from the Anglo-Indian press.

Some years later, this alleged autobiography was chosen by Lieut.-Col. D.C. Phillott, a senior member of the Government of India's board of language examiners, as an eminently suitable text to be prescribed for the examination syllabus. Phillott prepared a simple Urdu version, which continued to be prescribed for the Higher Standard Hindustani examination from 1910 until the end of the Raj.

Phillott was himself a fine scholar of both Persian and Urdu, whose works include a magnificently full *Higher Persian Grammar* besides many ingenious Urdu teaching-manuals, such as his *Hindustani Stumbling-Blocks.* So his choice of linguistic register for his version was quite deliberate, as is made clear by the tone of his introduction, e.g. 'generally speaking colloquial expressions have been substituted for literary ones... The student should practise on servants and sepoys what colloquial he has stored up in his memory from the book. He must, however, bear in mind the fact that the vocabulary of Hindus differs somewhat from that of Muslims...'

Both this artificial style — albeit the closest of all the passages in this book to that oddly elusive Hindustani middle-ground — and its outrageously loyalist sentiments are sufficient explanations for its failure to extend its role as a prescribed text for British officers, so as to secure the genuine place in Urdu prose literature achieved by the similarly British-inspired *Bāğ o bahār* (**1**).

In the first paragraph, the old sepoy affectionately recalls his first officers (c. 1812), true Sahibs who earned all sorts of nicknames from their devoted troops: in the second, he speaks of the Indian women they used to keep as mistresses. This leads to the final paragraphs, in which Sita Ram reflects not only on how well the officers of old used to get on with their men, but how much better they could speak Urdu than their later successors. All this is, of course, very much grist to Phillott's didactic mill: as his introduction again observes, 'it must be recollected that a language cannot properly be learnt from books alone; the ear and tongue require training, and this is only to be acquired by considerable practice.'

The text is based, with some adaptation to modern spelling-conventions, on D.C. Phillott, *Khwāb o Khayāl or "Visions of the Past"*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: The Author, 1914), pp. 28–31.

The original English translation (*sic*) is best consulted in the modern edition of J. Lunt, *From Sepoy to Subedar* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 23–25.

آٹھ انگریزی افسر میری پلٹن میں تھے لیکن میری کمپنی کے کپتان صاحب اصلی صاحب تھے، جیسا میرے خیال کے مطابق صاحب کو ہونا چاہیئے۔ ان کا نام برم پیل تھا۔ قد میں چھ فٹ تین انچ تھے۔ ان کا سینہ ہنومان کی طرح کشادہ تھا اور زور کی تو کوئی انتہا نہ تھی — وہ ہمیشہ سپاہیوں سے کشتی لڑتے۔ اور جب اکھاڑے میں اُترتے تھے تو سب کی نظر ان پر پڑتی تھی۔ انہوں نے سب پیچ سیکھ رکھے تھے۔ کسی سپاہی کی مجال نہ تھی کہ ان کو نیچا دکھائے۔ سب سپاہی ان کو پہلوان صاحب کہتے تھے۔ ہر صاحب کا سپاہی لوگ ایک نہ ایک نام رکھ دیتے۔ ایک کو نواب صاحب کہتے تھے۔ ایک کا لقب ڈام صاحب تھا، کیونکہ ہمیشہ حکم دیتے وقت وہ "ڈام" کہا کرتے تھے۔

اکثر صاحب ہندوستانی بیبیاں رکھتے تھے۔ پلٹن میں ان عورتوں کا بہت کچھ اختیار تھا۔ ان کو اپنے اپنے صاحبوں کے مزاج میں گو اچھا دخل تھا مگر اتنا نہیں جتنا وہ بتاتی تھیں۔ وہ اپنے اختیار کو بڑھا کر بیان کرتی تھیں تاکہ وہ سپاہی جن کو رخصت لینے کی ضرورت ہو یا کوئی کام نکالنا چاہتے ہوں اُن کی مٹھی گرم کریں۔ بعض اوقات خود سپاہی اس کی تدبیر کرتے تھے کہ اپنے ہاں کی کسی عورت کو کسی افسر کے حوالے کریں۔ مگر ایسے لوگ نیچ ذات کے ہوتے تھے ....

صاحب لوگ اُس زمانے میں ہماری بولی اب سے کہیں اچھی بولتے تھے اور ہم لوگوں سے زیادہ ملتے جلتے تھے۔ اب افسروں کو امتحان پاس کرنا پڑتا ہے لیکن پھر بھی وہ ہماری بولی اس طرح نہیں بول سکتے، اگرچہ امتحان کے لئے ان کو کتابیں پڑھنی پڑتی ہیں۔ میں نے کمتر دیکھا ہے کہ 'کمیٹی' کے سامنے امتحان دینے کے بعد بھی کوئی صاحب چٹھی یا کتاب پڑھ سکتا ہو۔ وہ بس اپنے نوکروں سے پاجیوں کی سی بولی سیکھتے ہیں جو امیروں کی صحبت میں منہ سے نکالنے کے لائق نہیں ہے۔

ان دنوں صاحب لوگ پلٹن میں اکثر ناچ کرواتے تھے اور سپاہیوں کے ہر کھیل میں شریک ہوتے تھے۔ وہ شکار میں بھی سپاہیوں کو، جو جانا چاہتے تھے، ساتھ لے چلتے تھے۔ اب وہ ناچ میں کم آتے ہیں کیونکہ پادریوں نے ان کو منع کر دیا ہے۔ انہیں پادریوں کی کوشش سے صاحبوں اور سپاہیوں کے درمیان بیگانگی بڑھ گئی ہے اور بڑھتی جاتی ہے۔ جب میں سپاہی تھا ہماری کمپنی کے کپتان صاحب تمام دن دو چار سپاہیوں کو اپنے بنگلے پر بات چیت کے لئے رکھتے تھے۔ اس میں شک نہیں ہے کہ بہتیرے اس غرض سے جاتے تھے کہ صاحب اُن کی ترقی کی سفارش کرنل صاحب سے کریں مگر زیادہ تر لوگ اس لئے جاتے کہ ان کو کپتان صاحب سے دلی محبت تھی اور کپتان صاحب بھی اس طرح ان سے سلوک کرتے تھے گویا ان کے بچے تھے۔

Some of Phillott's own brief notes to his version are included below within double quotation-marks, with suitable adaptations of their format.

1 *palṭan*: a disguised loan from E 'platoon', with the altered sense of 'regiment' in HU. E loan-words are naturally quite prominent in the military context of this passage (91–92), e.g. the following *kampanī* phonetically easily adaptable to regular HU use in both its military and commercial senses, and *kaptān*, which perhaps reflects the Portuguese 'capitão' as much as E 'captain'.

1 *aslī sāhib*: the only realistic E translation is 'pukka sahib'. Cf. 14 *sāhib log* 'the Sahibs'. An exactly comparable instance of the way in which loan-words shift in sense as well as pronunciation with their transfer to other languages is provided by P *sipāhī* > E 'sepoy', but 'private soldier, police constable' in modern U: cf. the degradation of PA *sūbe-dār* from its Mughal sense of 'provincial governor' to its colonialist use to designate 'Indian infantry N.C.O.'

2 *baram-pīl*: the odd transmission of this text makes it quite easy for Phillott to transcribe 'Burrumpeel' from the prior E version, but equally hard to determine the original, although 'Brougham-Peele' is tempting.

3 "*hanūmān*: the monkey chief of the Rāmāyan; now worshipped as a god. He was of powerful build."

4 *kuštī laṛte*: 'would wrestle', one of those idiomatic phrase-verbs upon which Phillott and his school were fond of laying such emphasis to British aspirants to mastery of the Hindustani colloquial.

4 "*akhāṛā*: 'a wrestling place'; the earth is dug up, and there is generally a raised platform all round: hence any arena."

5 *majāl*: 'power', an A loan typically used in U in this negative sense, i.e. 'no soldier was able to'.

5 "*nīcā dikhānā*: generally = *maǧlūb karnā*", i.e. 'defeat'.

6 *ek nâ ek*: 'one or another'. This pattern of HU jingle-compounds (524) is restricted to a few similarly pronominal doublets, e.g. *koī nâ koī* 'someone or other', *kaise nâ kaise* 'somehow or other', etc.

7 *laqab*: an A loan with the usual sense of 'title', but here = 'nickname', as in the deliberately idiomatic 6 *nām rakh dete*.

7 *ḍām*: 'Damn' (922), one of those E loans which keeps its place in HU in an oddly affectionate way, alongside such once-vilified words as *ṭāmī* 'Tommy' or *ṭoḍī* 'toady'.

9 *bībiyāṅ*: 'women'. Although it is its P etymological doublet, *bībī* tends to lack in U the unambiguous status of *bīvī* 'wife'.

11 *baṛhā-kar*: 'exaggerating', cf. the common adv. use of *baṛh-kar* 'more'.

11 *ruxsat*: here in the technical military sense of 'leave'.

11 *kām nikālnā*: 'to get something fixed', another cunningly introduced idiomatic phrase-verb.

12 *muṭṭhī garm kareṅ*: lit. 'warm the fist', i.e. 'smoothe the palm, bribe', another useful idiom for candidates to learn in Phillott's day.

13 Asterisks in Phillott's text indicate the tactful excision of the E original's 'but such men were usually of low caste, or else Mahommedans'. It remains something of a mystery just how A *zāt*, taken over into U in its original sense in such phrases as PA *zāt-e ilāhī* 'the Divine Essence', came to be confused with S *jāti* 'caste' so thoroughly as to yield such jingle-compounds as *zāt-pāt* 'all that caste-business', by conflation with *jāt-pāt*.

14 *bolī*: both implying 'spoken language', and representing Phillott's choice of a deliberately down-market word. The same neutrality of NIA *bolī* has resulted in its modern use in Panjabi, on both sides of the international frontier, for E 'language', vs. the strong U preference for P *zabān* or A *lisān*, and that of H for S *bhāṣā* (522).

14 "*kahīṅ acchī*: 'far better'."

15 *milte julte the*: 'used to mix with', one of those HU verbal compounds (524) whose apparently meaningless second member is term in U a *tābi'-e muhmal* or 'nonsensical follower'. The original sense is, however, preserved in Siraiki *julaṇ* and Rajasthani *juḷṇau* (= HU *calnā*), whose continuing omission from the *CDIAL* illustrates the impossibility of cataloguing all such *desī*-words.

17 *kameṭī*: a well-engrained HU loan from E 'committee', nicely introduced by one who was for long himself a Chief Examiner.

17 *imtihān dene*: i.e. 'taking an exam', whose apparent U translation *imtihān lenā* has the complementary meaning of 'to give an exam to', in a striking illustration of cultural differences determining contrary uses in E and HU.

17 "*paṛh saktā ho*: *paṛhnā* 'to read, generally to oneself; also to study'; but *sunānā* 'to read aloud'. *paṛh denā* = *sunānā*, or *paṛh-kar sunānā*."

18 "*pājī*: 'wicked, naughty', as *pājī laṛkā* 'naughty boy': it also means low people."

18 "*suhbat* f. 'companionship'; and also copulation of humans."

20 *nāc*: 'dance', i.e. a session performed by professional semi-prostitute dancing-girls (*tavāif*).

21 *jo*: rather awkwardly picking up the antecedent *sipāhiyoṅ ko*.

22 *pādrī*: the dental *-d-* reflects Portuguese 'padre' (91), but older Anglo-Indian usage determines the word's coverage in HU of priests and ministers of all Christian denominations.

24 *bangle meṅ*: 'in his bungalow'. Although much less numerous than the E loans in HU, the HU loans to E are subject to the same culturally conditioned rules of specializations in sense (cf. 1 *aslī sāhib* above), e.g. not only *banglâ* from 'low-storey Bengali-style house' to the 'bungalows' first of colonial India, then those of speculative developments in southern England, but also such items as HU *lūṭnā* and *khāṭ*, vs. E 'loot', 'cot'.

25 "*un kī taraqqī*: indirect narration. The direct could also be used — *ki sāhib hamārī taraqqī kī sifāriš kareṅ*."

26 *karnal*: 'colonel', with *-r-* by analogy from *jarnel* 'general'.

27 *dilī muhabbat*: perhaps 'genuine affection', rather than lit. 'heart-felt love', vs. the tight tone of the original E 'because we liked the Sahib'.

27 *un se sulūk karte the*: 'behaved towards them'.

10
Abdul Haq:
Qavā'id-e urdū (1914)

The title of *Bābā-e urdū* i.e. the 'Grand Old Man of Urdu', by which he came to be universally known, is testimony to the unchallenged status of Maulvi Abdul Haq (1870–1961) as the outstanding authority on the language. Born in Hapar U.P. and educated in Delhi, the central part of his long and productive scholarly career was spent as Professor of Urdu at Osmania University in Hyderabad, a post he combined with the secretaryship of the Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdu or 'Society for the Development of Urdu', which from its foundation in 1903 was the most prominent organization devoted to the promulgation of the language and its defence against the Hindi challenge. After the Partition of 1947, during which his library in Delhi was destroyed by rioters, he migrated to Pakistan, where he played an important part in the development of Urdu as the national language of the new state.

Abdul Haq is best remembered as a lexicographer and grammarian. His *English-Urdu Dictionary* (1931) was a deliberate attempt to extend the resources of Urdu vocabulary, largely through the coinage of neologisms from Arabic and Persian, to meet contemporary requirements. It has remained a standard work, and new editions keep being published. A similar reception has been given to the *Qavā'id-e urdū* (1914), which has been through countless editions in India and Pakistan, where it is still regarded as the most authoritative Urdu grammar.

The passage is taken from Abdul Haq's introduction, whose outline of the character and development of Urdu continues to govern the perceptions of most educated Urdu-speakers. The first paragraph rounds off a summary history of the language (which has previously covered its Indian beginnings and subsequent development under the Muslims) with a brief account of the role of the British in helping it achieve its pre-1914 status. The second paragraph emphasizes the 'Hindi' base of Urdu: after some disparaging remarks about the ugliness of Sanskrit and Prakrit, the attractiveness of these core 'Hindi' elements is emphasized, though with an equal stress on the complementary function of Arabic and Persian loans. The last paragraph briefly sets Urdu in the context of general linguistic development, i.e. as a modern 'analytic' language freed from the awkward restrictions of ancient 'synthetic' languages.

One does not look to grammarians for stylistic felicity: but rather few modern Urdu writers would be content to restrain themselves to the elegant model of Abdul Haq's simple style, whose deliberate combination of Hindi-Urdu vocabulary with grander loans from Arabic and Persian, even with a few Sanskrit words where the sense demands them, nicely reflects his theme of the composite origins of Urdu.

The text is based on *Qavā'id-e urdū* (Aurangabad: Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdu, c. 1930), pp. 2–3.

Abdul Haq's views on the Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani question are expressed in his contribution to Ahmad 1941, pp. 82–92.

مغلیہ سلطنت کے زوال پر سمندر کے راستے ایک نئی قوم ہندوستان پر مسلّط ہوئی جو ہندو مسلمانوں سے بالکل غیر تھی۔ اس قوم نے اس کی انگلی پکڑی، اس نے انگلی پکڑتے ہی ان کا پہنچا پکڑا اور دربار سرکار میں اس کی رسائی ہوگئی۔ اور رفتہ رفتہ دفاتر سے فارسی کو نکال باہر کیا اور خود اس کی کرسی پر جلوہ گر ہوئی۔ آخر ہندوستان کی قدیم راجدھانی اس کا جنم بھوم اور دوآبہ اس کا وطن ہوا۔ اب دور دور پھیل چلی ہے اور ہندوستان کے اِس سرے سے اُس سرے تک چلے جائیے ہر جگہ بولی اور سمجھی جاتی ہے، بلکہ ہندوستان کے باہر تک جا پہنچی ہے۔ اب سب سے بڑھی چڑھی بات یہ ہے کہ یہ تین مختلف جلیل القدر قوموں کی یعنی ہندو مسلمانوں اور انگریزوں کی چہیتی ہے اور ان تینوں کی متفقہ کوششوں کی عظیم الشان یادگار ہے۔ تینوں نے اسے سیکھا، پڑھا، لکھا، تینوں نے اس کی ترقی میں مقدور بھر کوشش کی اور اب تینوں کی بدولت اس رُتبے کو پہنچی کہ دنیا کی جدید زبانوں میں شمار کئے جانے کے قابل ہوئی۔

اردو ہندی نژاد ہے اور قدیم ہندی یا پراکرت کی آخری اور سب سے شائستہ صورت ہے۔ برج بھاشا اور فارسی کے میل سے بنی ہے۔ اس میں جو سنسکرت اور پراکرت کے الفاظ ہیں وہ زمانۂ دراز کے استعمال اور زبانوں پر چڑھ جانے سے ایسے ڈھل گئے ہیں کہ اصل الفاظ میں جو بھدّا پن اور کرختگی اور تلفّظ اور لہجہ کی دِقّت تھی بالکل جاتی رہی، اور چھٹ چھٹا کر پاک صاف سیدھے سادے رہ گئے، جس سے زبان میں لوچ، گھُلاوٹ اور صفائی پیدا ہوگئی۔ اردو کے ہندی نژاد ہونے میں کچھ شبہ نہیں، کیونکہ بیرونی زبانوں کا اثر صرف اسما و صفات میں ہوا ہے ورنہ زبان کی بنیاد ہندی پر ہے۔ تمام حروفِ فاعلی، مفعولی، اضافت، نسبت، ربط وغیرہ ہندی ہیں۔ ضمیریں سب کی سب ہندی ہیں، افعال سب ہندی ہیں۔ لیکن عربی فارسی الفاظ کے اضافے نے مختلف صورتوں میں اس کی اصل خوبی میں اضافہ کر دیا ہے۔ ہندی الفاظ میں دل نشینی کا خاص اثر ہے اور عربی فارسی الفاظ میں شان و شوکت، اور زبان کے لئے ان دونوں عنصروں کا ہونا ضروری ہے۔ عربی فارسی الفاظ نے نہ صرف لغت میں بلکہ خیالات میں بھی وسعت پیدا کر دی ہے، جس سے اس کا حسن دوبالا ہوگیا اور وہ زیادہ وسیع اور کارآمد بن گئی۔ مگر اصل بنیاد جس پر وہ قائم ہے ہندی ہی ہے۔ محض غیر زبانوں کے اسما و صفات کے اضافے سے اس کے ہندی ہونے میں مطلق فرق نہیں آسکتا۔ مثلاً آج کل بہت سے انگریزی لفظ داخل ہوتے جاتے ہیں، لیکن اس سے زبان کی اصلیت و ماہیت پر کچھ اثر نہیں پڑ سکتا۔

ایک دوسری بات اردو زبان میں یہ ہے کہ وہ اس اصول پر قائم ہے جو تمام جدید زبانوں میں اس وقت پایا جاتا ہے یعنی صورتِ ترکیبی سے حالتِ تفصیلی کی طرف اس کا رجحان ہے۔ قدیم زبانوں میں یہ بڑی دِقّت تھی کہ ایک ہی لفظ کو ذرا ذرا سے فرق اور پھیر سے مختلف صورتوں میں لے آتے ہیں۔ اب دوسرے الفاظ کی مدد سے مرکب صورتیں پیدا ہوگئی ہیں اور وہ دِقتیں جاتی رہی ہیں۔ اردو کو بھی اس قید سے آزادی مل گئی ہے۔

1 *muğliyâ saltanat*: 'the Mughal empire', equivalent to the izafat phrase *saltanat-e muğliyâ*, with the A f. *-â* (735).

1 *ek naī qaum*: i.e. the British.

2 *unglī pakṛī*: lit. 'took it by the finger', i.e. gave U support.

3 *darbār-sarkār*: 'government', a HU compound of two P loans (524).

3 *us kī rasāī ho gaī*: lit. 'its admittance occurred', vs. the natural E use of a simple verb, 'it was admitted'.

4 *rāj-dhānī*: a S loan, like *janam-bhūm*, deliberately used to emphasize the Indian origins of U.

4 *do-ābâ*: the Doab in western U.P. between the Yamuna and the Ganges, which lies to the immediate east of Delhi, and which has for so long been the cultural heartland of India.

5 *dūr dūr phail calī hai*: 'has spread far and wide'. The modal extension of *phail-* by *calnā* underlines the active progress of U's extension.

6 *cale jāiye*: 'if one travels'. The impersonal sense of HU *-iye* is implicit in its origins as a 3s. passive, e.g. *rakhiye* 'it is to be put'. Although generally obscured by the use of *-iye* forms to denote a polite imp., this impersonal sense underlines this use of them in conditional constructions.

6 *sab se baṛhī caṛhī bāt*: 'the most outstanding thing', incorporating a common verbal jingle-compound (524).

7 *jalīlul-qadar*: like 8 *'azīmuš-šān*, an A possessive phrase (741).

9 *maqdūr-bhar*: 'to the best of their ability, to their utmost'. The rather simple register selected by Abdul Haq is indicated by the choice of this compound of A *maqdūr* m. 'ability' with the HU adv. suf. *-bhar*, in preference to the grander implications of the A prepn. phrase *hattal-maqdūr* (742).

10 *šumār kiye jāne ke qābil*: 'deserving to be reckoned'. The inf. has a major syntactic role in most styles of formal HU, and this can naturally involve such apparent complexities as the inflexion of the passive inf. of a phrase-verb.

11 *hindī-nižād*: 'of H origin', a coined P compound.

11 *šāistâ*: 'civilized, cultured', a term serving to set up the very chauvinistically pro-U tone of the following lines.

12 *brij bhāšā*: the erroneous theory that U developed from Braj Bhāṣā (almost universally referred to by U-speakers as *brij-bhāšā*) is still widespread, thanks largely to the expressed judgment of Abdul Haq here.

13 *zamānâ-e darāz*: 'a long period', a P adj. izafat phrase (841).

14 *bhaddā-pan*: 'clumsiness', a HU formation (523), whose tone serves to describe the extremely disagreeable impression made then and now on most U-speakers by the heavily consonantal structure of many of the S loans so favoured in H (61–62).

14 *jātī rahī*: 'going went for good', i.e. 'vanished'. This idiomatic modal compound is also illustrated by 30 *jātī rahī haiṅ*.

14 *chuṭ chuṭā-kar*: the juxtaposition of a simple verb with its causative reinforces the sense, i.e. 'thus freed and released'.

15 *sīdhe sāde*: 'simple, straightforward', one of the commonest HU adj. compounds, involving the combination of NIA *sīdhā* with P *sādâ*.

16 *asmā o sifāt*: these and the following grammatical terms borrowed from A are explained in the final note below.

17 The free use in U of, e.g. P *xud* or *farmānā*, needs to be remembered, however.

20 *šān o šaukat*: 'splendour, grandeur', a PA copular phrase (842) very appropriately used here.

22 *ziyādâ*: 'much more'.

23 *hindī hī hai*: 'but it is H which is. . .'

23 *us ke hindī hone meṅ*: 'to its being H', cf. the note on 10 above.

25 *asliyat o māhiyat par kuch asar nahīṅ*: the obvious influence of E patterns on so much later writing, repeatedly remarked in the later passages of this book, must now qualify this characterization of U.

27 *sūrat-e tarkībī*: 'synthetic form', an U coinage of Abdul Haq's to reproduce a contemporary term of E philology, like the following *hālat-e tafsīlī* 'analytic stage'.

27 *zarā zarā se farq aur pher se*: 'by the minutest differences and alterations', i.e. as in the elaborate paradigms of Sanskrit (or Latin and Greek).

* * *

Just as E relies on Latin for its grammatical terminology and H does on S, so too does U follow the equally prestigious but even less appropriate terminology devised for A.

The main parts of speech are well enough served:

ism	m.	noun	*asmā*	mp.	nouns
sifat	f.	adjective	*sifāt*	fp.	adjectives
zamīr	f.	pronoun	*zamāir*	fp.	pronouns
fi'l	f.	verb	*af'āl*	mp.	verbs

The two-gender system shared by U with A also results in the useful transfer of the following verbal derivatives of form II (721):

tazkīr	f.	being m.	*muzakkar*	adj.	masculine
tānīs	f.	being f.	*muannas*	adj.	feminine

A similarly natural transfer is effected in the pair *vāhid* 'singular' and *jama'* 'plural', or the set *mutakallim* 'speaker = 1st person', *hāzir* 'present = 2nd person', *ğāib* 'absent = 3rd person'.

The fundamental differences between the structures of A and U do, however, soon surface, e.g. in the application of A terms to the U tense-system, or in the classification of the parts of speech assigned in A to the category:

harf	m.	particle	*hurūf*	mp.	particles

Thus Abdul Haq's distinction in 17 of *hurūf-e fā'il, maf'ūlī, izāfat, nisbat, rabt*, lit. 'particles of the nominative, accusative, genitive, relationship, connexion' is at best a very clumsy way of describing HU *ne*, *ko*, *kā*, *se*, etc.

11
Abdul Halim Sharar: *Guzaštâ Lakhnaū* (c. 1920)

The pedigree of the modern prose literatures of South Asia tends to be derived from the remarkably productive output of a quite small number of writers active around the turn of the century. The prolific Urdu journalist, chronicler and novelist Abdul Halim Sharar (1860–1926) was just such a writer: and his hundred-odd books, plus countless essays and articles, continue to assure his respectful mention in all literary histories (*UL*, pp. 78–9).

This passage is made up of extracts from a chapter of the work for which Sharar is best remembered, a composite memoir of the former glories of Lucknow as capital of the last major Muslim kingdom in North India. After the British annexation of Avadh in 1856, the last Muslim ruler was exiled on generous terms to the Matiya Burj estate outside Calcutta. It was there that Sharar grew up, before returning to spend most of his working life as a writer in his natal city of Lucknow, alternating with somewhat stormily terminated periods of service in the premier surviving Muslim princely state of Hyderabad.

Sharar's evocations of Lucknow's glittering past were first published from 1913 onwards in his one-man journal *Dil-gudāz* 'The Melter of Hearts', and were then issued as a whole under the characteristically long-winded title of *Hindustān men mašriqī tamaddun kā āxirī namūnâ 'The Last Example of Eastern Civilization in Hindustan'*, for which modern editions prefer the briefer *Guzaštâ Lakhnaū 'The Lucknow of Old'*.

Sharar's extremely orotund style is characteristically Lakhnavi in its inclusion of huge numbers of Arabo-Persian loans, especially in its fondness for the inclusion of a great many Persian izafat and copular phrases.

The first two paragraphs illustrate the great pride still taken in their traditions of elaborate formal courtesy by all who can claim association with the former Muslim ruling class of Lucknow. In the original, Sharar then rambles on at length on similar themes, pausing to touch adversely on the '*naī paidā kī huī hindī zabān*' for its failure to reproduce the subtle usages of Lucknow Urdu, here illustrated in the third paragraph by the carefully gradated formulae for asking after people's health. The famously deferential courtesy of Lucknow — now equally famous through its repeated caricature by the comic stars of Hindi films — is more broadly characterized in the fourth paragraph, before Sharar is finally moved to an ageing man's gloomy reflections on the later proletarianization of the aristocratic traditions of his beloved native city.

The text, with suitable adaptations to the spelling-norms followed in this book, is taken from the edition of Rashid Hasan Khan, *Guzastâ Lakhnaū* (Delhi: Maktaba Jamia-e Milliya, 1971), pp. 367–8, 371–3.

The paragraphs omitted here are included in the invaluable English translation, *Lucknow: the last phase of an Oriental culture,* trans. and ed. E.S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain (London: Paul Elek, 1975), pp. 199–201.

تہذیب و شائستگی کا تقاضا یہ ہے کہ زبان پر مکروہ و مخش الفاظ نہ آئیں۔ جو الفاظ و خیالات مخاطب کو ناگوار گذریں، اس کے سامنے زبان سے نہ نکلیں۔ اور اگر کبھی ناگوار مضامین کے ظاہر کرنے کی ضرورت پیش بھی آئے تو وہ ایسے الفاظ اور ایسے عنوان سے ادا کئے جائیں کہ مخاطب کو گراں نہ گذریں۔ اور اگر گراں گذریں بھی تو ان کی گرانی میں ایک گونہ گوارائی و لطف پیدا ہو جائے۔ اس بارۂ خاص میں اہلِ زبانِ لکھنؤ اور یہاں کے شائستہ لوگوں کو جو کمال حاصل ہے، ہندوستان کے اور کسی شہر والوں میں نہ نظر آئے گا۔ اگرچہ موجودہ تعلیم و تہذیب نے ایک حد تک یہ خوبی ہر جگہ اندازِ گفتگو میں پیدا کر دی ہے، مگر انگریزی اثر سے معرا کر کے دیکھئے تو بالذات یہ شائستگی و شستگیٔ زبان اہلِ لکھنؤ ہی کا حصہ نظر آئے گی۔

باہر کے لوگ اس کا یہاں تک لوہا مانے ہوئے ہیں کہ لکھنؤ والوں کے سامنے گفتگو کرتے جھینپتے اور جس قدر شائستگی ان میں ہے، اس کو بھی بھول جاتے ہیں۔ اور اس کے بعد جب اپنی صحبتوں میں بیٹھتے ہیں تو یہ کہہ کے اپنی کمزوری کا الزام دور کرتے ہیں کہ ہم سادگی سے صاف صاف باتیں کرتے ہیں اور ہمیں لکھنؤ والوں کی سی چناں چنیں نہیں آتی۔ مگر دراصل یہ عُذر بدتر از گناہ ہے .....

مزاج پُرسی کو دیکھئے، ہر زبان میں اُس کے لئے معمولی الفاظ ہیں، مگر اردو میں ادب و احترام کی نگہداشت کے لئے مزاجِ عالی، مزاج اقدس، مزاج مقدس، مزاج معلا وغیرہ کہہ کے معزز مخاطب کی خیریت دریافت کرتے ہیں۔ یہ الفاظ اگرچہ اب ترقیٔ اردو کے ساتھ ہر جگہ اور ہر شہر میں پھیل رہے ہیں، مگر ان کے استعمال میں جو اجتہادی ملکہ شرفائے لکھنؤ کو حاصل ہے، اور کسی جگہ کے لوگوں کو نہیں نصیب ہو سکتا .....

خرد بزرگ سے، ادنا اعلا سے، یا عامی عالم سے گفتگو کرے گا تو ہر لفظ اور ہر فقرے میں ادب و تعظیم کا خیال رکھے گا، آواز مناسب درجے تک پست اور نیچی رہے گی۔ اسی طرح بزرگ خردوں سے، اعلا طبقے والے ادنا لوگوں سے، علما عوام سے بات کریں گے تو ان کے لہجے، ان کے انداز اور ان کے الفاظ میں شفقت و محبت کے جذبات مضمر ہوں گے۔

ان باتوں کا لحاظ رکھنے اور مذکورۂ بالا ادب و تعظیم کے الفاظ و ضمائر استعمال کرنے سے اہلِ لکھنؤ کی زبان اس قدر شائستہ اور شستہ و رفتہ ہو گئی ہے کہ یہاں کے عوام اور جہلا دوسرے شہروں کے اکثر شعرا و فصحا سے زیادہ اچھی اردو بولتے ہیں۔ اور جو شائستگی اور تمیز داری ان سے ظاہر ہو جاتی ہے کسی اور مقام کے قابل و ذی علم لوگوں سے بھی نہیں ظاہر ہو سکتی۔ مگر افسوس لکھنؤ مٹا جاتا ہے، اب یہاں بیرونی لوگوں کا ایسا طوفانِ بے تمیزی بپا ہے، یہاں کے شائستہ لوگ اس طرح بے کار ہو کے کونے میں بیٹھ گئے ہیں، اور قانونی آزادی نے جہلا و عوام کو اس درجہ بے باک و بدتمیز بنا دیا ہے کہ یہ تمام ادبی خوبیاں خاک میں مل رہی ہیں اور چند روز بعد شاید ان کا پتا بھی نہ ہو۔

1 *tahzīb*: 'culture', an A loan of verbal form II (721), with the corresponding adj. *muhazzab*. P *šāistagī* f. 'good manners, refinement' and the corresponding adj. *šāistâ* 'refined, civilized' express the central ideal of the code of politeness so assiduously cultivated in Lucknow, and hence occur frequently below. The linking of near-synonyms in P copular phrases (842), as in *tahzīb o šāistagī*, is a favourite device of high-flown U styles, and is frequently employed in this passage, often to add more to the sonority of the language than to its meaning.

1 *zabān*: here in its basic sense of 'tongue'.

2-3 *agar . . . zarūrat peš bhī āe*: 'if it (actually) does prove necessary'. Cf. 4 *agar girāṅ guzreṅ bhī* for this sense of *bhī* in conditional clauses.

4 P *girāṅ*: lit. 'heavy', i.e. 'unpleasant, hurtful'. Lightness of touch is the essence of Lucknow courtesy.

5 *is bārâ-e xās*: 'in this particular respect'. P *bārâ* is more familiar in U in the common ppn. *ke bāre meṅ* lit. 'in respect of'.

5 *ahl-e zabān-e lakhnaū*: an extended izafat phrase (841).

7 *angrezī asar se mu'arrā kar-ke*: 'without having regard to British influence', i.e. as mentioned in 6 *maujūdâ ta'līm o tahzīb*.

7 *biz-zāt*: an A prepn. phrase (742).

7 *šāistagī o šustagī-e zabān*: combining a copula with an izafat. P *šustagī* f. 'polish' and the adj. *šustâ* 'polished' are natural pairs for the key *šāistagī* and *šāistâ*. Yet a further extension with P *ruftâ* 'refined' occurs below in 23 *šāistâ aur šustâ o ruftâ*.

8 *lohā mānnā*: lit. 'to acknowledge the iron (sword)', i.e. 'to bow before the superiority of'. The ext. ptc. *māne hue haiṅ* as usual implies a state, thus emphasizing the established authority more than *logoṅ ne . . . lohā mānā hai*.

10 *jis qadar . . . hai*: the grudging tone has already appeared in 6 *ek had tak*.

12 *cunāṅ cunīṅ*: a compound of two P pronominal adj., corresponding to HU *vaisā* and *aisā*, used in U as a f. 'high-flown talk, palaver', vs. 11 *sāf sāf bāteṅ* 'simple straight talk'.

12 *dar asl*: a P prepn. phrase (843).

12 *ye 'uzr bad-tar az gunāh hai*: 'this is a case of the excuse being worse than the sin', incorporating a P tag based on the P comparative construction (832).

14 *mizāj-e 'ālī/mubārak/aqdas/muqaddas/mu'allā*: lit. '(how is your) lofty/blessed/most revered/revered/exalted health?' This is a splendid illustration of the resources of A vocabulary formerly quarried for the expression of elaborate courtesies, now reduced to *mizāj-e šarīf* and its few current synonyms. *aqdas* is an elative form (735) from the same root as *muqaddas*.

16 *šurafā-e lakhnaū*: 'the polite classes of Lucknow', whose elaborate courtesy is the subject of the following paragraph. The concept of the *šarīf*, p. *šurafā*, is as fundamental to the values of traditional Indo-Muslim society as that of the 'gentleman' to its British counterpart.

19 *munāsib darje tak*: 'to a suitable degree'. The qualification is very characteristic of the Lucknow code, like the following 21 *šafqat o muhabbat* 'kindness and affection'.

22 *mazkūrâ-e bālā*: 'aforementioned', consisting of A *mazkūr(â)* and P *bālā* 'above'. This occasional use of the flexible izafat to indicate the qualification of an adj. by an adv. is also illustrated by the common antonym *mundarajâ-e zail* 'below-mentioned'.

22 *zamāir*: 'pronouns', referring to a previous discussion of *tū tum āp* and their social implications. Besides noting the particularly careful use of *āp* in Lucknow U, Sharar also mentions the general use of *tum* in U by Englishmen, Arabs and Persians, whose languages lack the additional resource of an *āp*-form for the nice expression of courtesy.

25 *zī 'ilm*: 'educated, learned'. A *zī* 'possessor of' is occasionally used in this way in U, as a pref.: it also occurs in the names of the last two months of the Hijri year, *zī qa'dâ* and *zil-hijjâ*. It is originally the obl. of *zū*, the first element in *zulfīqār* 'possessor of the vertebrae', the name of a sword given to Ali, and part of the given name of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

25 *magar afsos*: 'but alas!'

26 *berūnī log*: the collapse of the old order in Lucknow which followed the annexation of the kingdom of Avadh in 1856 naturally led to an influx of 'outsiders' from the surrounding areas, often more vigorous than the displaced former ruling class.

27 *qānūnī āzādī*: 'legal freedom'. The phrase loosely indicates the theoretical equality granted to Indians of all religious communities and classes under British rule.

27 *juhalā o 'avām*: 'the ignorant and common people', as opposed to the *šurafā*. Here paired with the derogatory *juhalā*, the term *'avām* has since acquired the positive sense of 'the people, the masses', as in **18** and **22** below.

28 *adabī xūbiyāṅ*: 'beautiful forms of courtesy'. The A noun *adab* means 'courtesy, manners', as well as 'literature': cf. the use of the broken p. *ādāb* as a polite greeting in U.

28 *cand roz ba'd*: lit. 'a few days later', i.e. 'in a short while'.

12
Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi: *Kavi kartavya* (1921/22)

The 'Dwivedi era' of Hindi poetry constituted the watershed between the declining tradition of rhetorical-cum-devotional verse, written mostly in Braj Bhāṣā, and new genres of Khaṛī Bolī poetry showing the literary influence of the English Romantics and the political influence of a new social awareness and Indian nationalism. The era takes its name from M.P. Dwivedi (1864–1938), who came to literature through an unorthodox route including clerical work in the Telegraph Department and the railways; as a result of moving with his employment from place to place he picked up a fluency in Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali as well as Sanskrit and English. From 1903 to 1920 he was editor of the Hindi literary magazine *Sarasvatī*, and during his reign in the editor's chair his pronouncements regarding linguistic and literary conventions were regarded as authoritative.

Dwivedi was anxious to broaden the reference of modern literature by making it more relevant to everyday life; in his editorials he sought to persuade fellow-writers to bridge the gulf between literary and colloquial styles, though this ideal was not always achieved even in his own writings. The essay *Kavi kartavya* or '*A Poet's Duty*', first published in 1921/22, deals primarily with choice of language, vocabulary, semantics, and theme, and represents a distillation of the topics regularly covered at greater length in the editorial columns of *Sarasvatī*. The extract given here is from sections entitled 'language' (*bhāṣā*) and 'subject' (*viṣay*).

The first paragraph argues for an end to the distinction between prose and verse styles, pointing out the fact that prose is a relatively new development in Hindi and underlining the need for a literary register which reflects the language use of 'civilized society'. He notes with approval the increasing use of metaphor and idiom in modern poetry, and looks forward to the confidently predicted day when Khaṛī Bolī will assume the status held by Braj Bhāṣā as the natural style for poetic composition.

The second paragraph makes scornful reference to the ivory-towered world of traditional Hindi verse, showing by contrast to its narrow range the infinite possibilities of theme open to the modern poet. His controversial views challenged long-established traditional values with important religio-cultural overtones; and Dwivedi buttresses his radical argument with an ironic voice. He maintains that the author must not depend upon the grace of his muse, the goddess Sarasvati, as an automatic reward for the blind pursual of literary rhetoric.

The text is taken from *Rasajña-rañjan* (8th ed.) (Agra: Sahitya Press, 1949) pp.19–20 and 23–24.

The background is discussed in P. Gaeffke, *Hindi literature in the twentieth century* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978), chapters 2–3; and more fully in Karine Schomer, *Mahadevi Varma and the Chhayavad age of modern Hindi poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), chapters 1 and 2.

कविता लिखने में व्याकरण के नियमों की अवहेलना न करनी चाहिए । शुद्ध भाषा का जितना मान होता है अशुद्ध का उतना नहीं होता । व्याकारण का विचार न करना कवि की तद्विषयक अज्ञानता का सूचक है । कोई-कोई कवि व्याकरण के नियमों की ओर दृक्पात तक नहीं करते । यह बड़े खेद और लज्जा की बात है । ब्रजभाषा की कविता में कविजन मनमानी निरंकुशता दिखलाते हैं । यह उचित नहीं । जहाँ तक सम्भव हो शब्दों का मूल-रूप न बिगड़ना चाहिए । . . .

गद्य और पद्य की भाषा पृथक्-पृथक् न होनी चाहिये । हिन्दी ही एक ऐसी भाषा है, जिसके गद्य में एक प्रकार की और पद्य में दूसरे प्रकार की भाषा लिखी जाती है । सभ्य-समाज की जो भाषा हो उसी भाषा में गद्य-पद्यात्मक साहित्य होना चाहिये । गद्य का प्रचार हिन्दी में थोड़े दिनों से हुआ है । पहले गद्य प्रायः न था; हमारा साहित्य केवल पद्यमय था । गद्य-साहित्य की उत्पत्ति के पहले पद्य में ब्रजभाषा ही का सार्वदेशिक प्रयोग होता था । अब कुछ अन्तर होने लगा है । गद्य की इस समय उन्नति हो रही है । अतएव अब यह सम्भव नहीं कि गद्य की भाषा का प्रभाव पद्य पर न पड़े । जो प्रबल होता है वह निर्बल को अवश्य अपने वशीभूत कर लेता है । यह बात भाषा के सम्बन्ध में भी तद्वत् पाई जाती है । पचास वर्ष पहले के कवियों की भाषा इस समय के कवियों की भाषा से मिला कर देखिए । देखने से तत्काल विदित हो जायगा कि आधुनिक कवियों पर बोल-चाल की हिन्दी भाषा ने अपना प्रभाव डालना आरम्भ कर दिया है; उनकी लिखी ब्रजभाषा की कविता में बोल-चाल (खड़ी-बोली) के जितने शब्द और मुहाविरे मिलेंगे उतने ५० वर्ष पहले कवियों की कविता में कदापि न मिलेंगे । यह निश्चित है कि किसी समय बोल-चाल की हिन्दी भाषा, ब्रज-भाषा की कविता के स्थान को अवश्य छीन लेगी । इसलिए कवियों को चाहिए कि वे क्रम-क्रम से गद्य की भाषा में भी कविता करना आरम्भ करें । बोलना एक भाषा और कविता में प्रयोग करना दूसरी भाषा, प्राकृतिक नियमों के विरुद्ध है । जो लोग हिन्दी बोलते हैं और हिन्दी ही के गद्य-साहित्य की सेवा करते हैं, उनके पद्य में ब्रज की भाषा का आधिपत्य बहुत दिनों तक नहीं रह सकता । . . .

कविता का विषय मनोरंजक और उपदेश-जनक होना चाहिए । यमुना के किनारे केलि-कौतूहल का अद्भुत-अद्भुत वर्णन बहुत हो चुका । न परकीयाओं पर प्रबन्ध लिखने की अब कोई आवश्यकता है और न स्वकीयाओं के "गतागत" की पहेली बुझाने की । चींटी से लेकर हाथी पर्य्यन्त पशु; भिक्षुक से लेकर राजा पर्य्यन्त मनुष्य; बिन्दु से लेकर समुद्र पर्य्यन्त जल; अनन्त आकाश; अनन्त पृथ्वी; अनन्त पर्वत - सभी पर कविता हो सकती है; सभी से उपदेश मिल सकता है और सभी के वर्णन से मनोरंजन हो सकता है । फिर क्या कारण है कि इन विषयों को छोड़ कर कोई कोई कवि स्त्रियों की चेष्टाओं का वर्णन करना ही कविता की चरम सीमा समझते हैं ? केवल अविचार और अन्ध-परम्परा ! यदि "मेघनाद वध" अथवा "यशवन्तराव महाकाव्य" वे नहीं लिख सकते, तो उनको ईश्वर की निःसीम सृष्टि में से छोटे-छोटे सजीव अथवा निर्जीव पदार्थों को चुन कर उन्हीं पर छोटी-छोटी कविताएँ करनी चाहिए । अभ्यास करते-करते शायद, कभी, किसी समय, वे इससे अधिक योग्यता दिखलाने में समर्थ हों और दण्डी कवि के कथनानुसार शायद कभी वाग्देवी उन पर सचमुच ही प्रसन्न हो जायँ । नायिका के हाव-भावादि के वर्णन का अभ्यास करने वालों पर भी सरस्वती की कृपा हो सकती है; परन्तु तदर्थ उसकी उपासना न करना ही अच्छा है ।

The literary nature of Dwivedi's subject naturally calls for a Sanskritized register; but the use of mostly very short sentences ensures the clarity of expression which Dwivedi was so concerned to maintain in his and others' writing.

3 *tadviṣayak ajñāntā kā sūcak*: 'an indication of ignorance in that subject'. S *tadviṣayak* comprises *tat* 'that', *viṣay* 'subject' + ext. *-k* for adj. sense.

4 *kavijan*: 'poets', *jan* being used as a pluralizing suf. (cf. HU *log*).

7 *pṛthak-pṛthak*: this reduplication of the S adjective for 'separate, distinct' reflects the H usage *alag-alag* — a classic example of a loan translation comprising borrowed vocabulary grafted onto H syntax. (Cf. also Indian E 'different-different'.)

7 *hindī hī ek aisī bhāṣā hai, jiske . . .*: 'H is the only language whose . . .'. The statement is manifestly untrue, a distinct poetic register being a stylistic feature of many languages — not least U. Cf. 21, where the distinction is described as being 'against the laws of nature'.

8 *sabhya-samāj*: 'civilised [i.e. H-speaking Hindu!] society'; the hyphen buttresses the postulation that such an institution is readily identifiable.

9 *gadya-padyātmak*: a compound in which the adj. suf. *-ātmak* 'of the nature of' relates to both the preceding nouns.

11 *sārvadeśik*: the elements of this adj. are the *vṛddhi* form of *sarva* 'all' + *deś* 'place'; and usage of the H term to some extent reflects the currency of E 'universal'. Dwivedi's statement is rather sweeping: not all pre-modern H verse was in Braj Bhāṣā.

14 *vaśībhūt*: 'subject, brought under control': *vaśī-* (a form of *vaś* 'power, control' used in compounds) + *bhūt* 'become'.

14 *tadvat*: 'similar(ly)'; S *tat* 'that' in sandhi with *vat* '-like'. (611) Cf. 15 *tatkāl* 'at that time, immediately', and 38 *tadarth* 'with that object, for that end'.

15 *milā kar dekhie*: 'bring together and look', i.e. 'compare'.

20 *kaviyoṅ ko cāhie ki ve . . . ārambh kareṅ*: 'it behoves poets to begin . . .'. This impersonal construction allows an elegant alternative to the blunter *kaviyoṅ ko . . . ārambh karnā cāhie* 'poets should begin . . .'.

21 *kavitā karnā*: 'to compose verses, to versify'.

21 *bolnā ek bhāṣā aur kavitā meṅ prayog karnā dūsrī bhāṣā*: the word order picks out *ek bhāṣā* and *dūsrī bhāṣā* for emphasis, with the sense 'for one language to be used in speech, and a different one in poetry'.

22 *gadya-sāhitya kī sevā*: the 'service' of H and its literature is a frequently aired concept; cf. U *xidmat-e urdū*.

23 *braj kī bhāṣā kā ādhipatya bahut dinoṅ tak nahīṅ rah saktā*: the history of twentieth century H literature has of course proved Dwivedi right.

25 *updeś-janak*: 'bearing a message, edifying', i.e. 'morally improving'.

25 *yamunā ke kināre keli-kautūhal kā adbhut-adbhut varṇan*: 'weird-and-wonderful description of the sports and revels on the Yamuna's bank' — an allusion to the mythology of Krishna which is so prominent in Braj poetry. The extravagant wording of the phrase is in deliberate and effective contrast to the colloquial *bahut ho cukā* 'we've had enough of that'.

26 *parkīyā . . . svakīyā*: these are the two principal categories of heroine in the rhetoric of Indian poetics, categorizing the woman as being 'the wife of another' or '(the lover's) own wife'. In the context of Krishna and Radha, the distinction has theological implications and is much discussed.

27 "*gatāgat*" *kī paheli bujhāne*: 'to talk in riddles of the "coming-and going"', i.e. the various romantic contexts which are the stock-in-trade of Braj Bhāṣā poetry. The 'riddles' referred to are the complex rhetorical word-plays which feature so commonly in early H verse.

27 *cīṅṭī se lekar hāthī paryyant paśu*: 'animals from the ant to the elephant'; formal oppositions of this kind are a commonplace in rhetorical writing. Cf. 34 *sajīv athvā nirjīv*.

28 *paryyant*: the usual spelling is *paryant*, i.e. *pari-* + *ant* in sandhi combination (611). The doubling of a consonant or semi-vowel in a conjunct with preceding *r* is a common tendency in S, though its appearance in H is now somewhat archaic; cf. *dharmmī, varmmā* etc. It probably derives from a re-Sanskritization of the Prakrit form from which a dropped *r* had been compensated for by doubling of the consonant (521), thus *dharmī* > *dhammī* > *dharmmī* etc.

31 *choṛ kar*: the cj. pt. 'abandoning', rather than the ppn. 'apart from'.

32 *meghnād-vadh, yaśvantrāv mahākāvya*: 'The Death of Meghnad', a Bengali poem by Madhusudan Datta (1861) translated into Hindi by Maithilisharan Gupta (1886–1964), the leading poet of Dwivedi's time; and 'The Epic of Yashvantrao', an epic poem of uncertain composition.

35 *kabhī, kisī samay*: ' sometime, at some juncture' — the tautology stresses (rather unkindly) the remoteness of the possibility alluded to.

35 *ve isse adhik yogyatā dikhlāne meṅ samarth hoṅ*: 'they may be capable of showing greater capacity than this', i.e. than of restricting themselves to *choṭī choṭī kavitāeṅ* on narrowly defined topics and themes.

36 *daṇḍī kavi*: Dandin, a S poet of the seventh century. (The H *-ī* ending derives from the nominative s. of the S *-in* declension). Dandin's dictum from the *Kāvyādarśa*, cited in a note excised from this passage, maintains that Sarasvati (whose epithet *Vāgdevī* means 'goddess of speech') bestows her grace on all those who, even though untalented, persevere with their attempts at poetry through devotion and through study of the *śāstras*; Dwivedi may intend a playful reference to his own journal *Sarasvatī*, whose patronage was commonly sought by aspiring writers of H.

38 *tadarth uskī upāsnā na karnā hī acchā hai*: 'it is better not to worship her with that aim' — a gentle warning, framed with the tactful diplomacy of an impersonal construction, that the grace of the muse should not be relied upon as automatically to be bestowed.

13
Mirza Farhatullah Beg: *Nazīr Ahmad kī kahānī* (c. 1925)

Although Mirza Farhatullah Beg (1884–1947) spent his working life in Hyderabad, where he rose to a senior position in the state's judiciary, he was born into an old Delhi family and it was in Delhi that he grew up. As a writer, he is chiefly noted for the very attractive essays which evoke the old Muslim culture of Delhi from his memory or his imagination.

The subject of the well-known essay from which this passage is taken is Maulvi Nazir Ahmad (1831–1912), himself an outstanding writer of narrative prose, who incidentally produced the official Urdu translation of the Indian Penal Code (*UL*, pp. 104–5). In the last period of his chequered career, he taught Arabic at the famous Delhi College. Farhatullah Beg was one of his students, and his essay records his memories of his old teacher.

The prestige of Delhi College attracted students from places as distant as Afghanistan, and the passage is a humorous description of the group of Pathan maulvis who attended Nazir Ahmad's Arabic literature classes. The first paragraph describes their outlandish appearance, while the second reports Nazir Ahmad's caustic judgment of their ability, in spite of the bright young Farhatullah Beg's confidence that the hardest Arabic texts are well within the reach of any decent student. There then follows an anecdote, illustrative of the difficulties faced by all South Asian Muslims in mastering Arabic, which tells of the howler in translation committed by one of the pious Afghans. The story is nicely rounded off by the author's description of his fear that his amusement might provoke the Pathans to attack him, leading him to a rapid exit.

Elsewhere in the essay, Farhatullah Beg is rather critical of Nazir Ahmad's style, which he regards — with some justice — as having been adversely affected by his desire to show off his linguistic gifts. Farhatullah Beg's own style, by contrast, is comparable in elegance to that of Ghalib's letters (3), with which it shares a studied exploitation of all the natural resources of the spoken Urdu of Delhi. This is literary Urdu prose at its best, avoiding the excessive incorporation of weighty Arabic and Persian loans on which so many Urdu writers rely for effect, and composed in short sentences whose construction so often demonstrates both the clarity and the subtlety of natural Urdu syntatic patterns. Although the date given for the essay is to be regarded as approximate, it is to be noted that this is the last of the Urdu passages included in this book whose style is not transparently influenced by English modes of expression.

The text is taken from *Maulvī Nazīr Ahmad kī kahānī kuch un kī kuch merī zabānī* (Aligarh: Educational Book House, 1956), pp. 66–68.

The finest of Farhatullah Beg's evocations of old Delhi is available in the translation of Akhtar Qamber, *The Last Musha'irah of Delhi* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979), which gives a vivid picture of the world of Urdu poetry in the age of Ghalib.

ہمارے پڑھنے کا طریقہ تو سُن چکے ، اب مولویوں کی جماعت کا حال سُن لیجئے ۔ اس جماعت میں تمام کے تمام سرحد پار ہی کے لوگ تھے ۔ لمبے لمبے کُرتے ، بڑی بڑی آستینیں ، ڈیڑھ ڈیڑھ دو دو تھان کی شلواریں ، شملہ بہ مقدارِ علم کے لحاظ سے کئی کئی سیر کے پگڑ ، لمبی لمبی داڑھیاں ، غرض معلوم ہوتا تھا کہ افغانستان کا کوئی قطعہ اٹھا کر بتاشوں کی گلی میں رکھ دیا گیا ہے ۔ محنت کی یہ حالت کہ رات رات بھر کتاب دیکھتے ۔ ٹھوٹھ ایسے کہ باوجود اس محنت کے کورے کے کورے رہتے ۔

مولوی صاحب ، ہم سے ہمیشہ ان کی موٹی عقل کی تعریف کیا کرتے اور کہتے ، " بھئی میں ان مُلّانوں سے عاجز آ گیا ہوں ۔ اپنا بھی وقت ضائع کرتے ہیں اور میرا بھی ۔ جواب اس لئے نہیں دے دیتا کہ دل شکنی ہوگی ۔ مگر کیا کروں ، اللہ میاں نے ان لوگوں کو ادب سمجھنے کا دماغ ہی نہیں دیا ہے ۔ ہزار سمجھاتا ہوں ان کی سمجھ میں نہیں آتا ۔ بھلا ان کو حماسہ یا متنبی پڑھنے کی کیا ضرورت پڑی ہے ۔ فوج میں نوکر ہو جائیں ، محنت مزدوری کریں یا ہینگ کا توبڑا گلے میں ڈال کر بیچتے پھریں ۔" ہم کہتے ، " مولوی صاحب آپ بھی غضب کرتے ہیں ۔ رگڑ سے پتھر بھی گھس جاتا ہے ۔ آخر متنبی نے ایسے کون سے شعر کہے ہیں جو غور کرنے سے سمجھ میں نہ آئیں ۔"

ایک روز فرمانے لگے ، " لو آج تم ٹھہر جاؤ اور ان مولویوں کا رنگ بھی دیکھ لو ۔ مگر دیکھو کہیں ہنس نہ دینا ، ورنہ چھُرا ہی بھونک دیں گے ۔" اس روز ہم کو بھی چھٹی تھی ۔ ہم پڑھ کر فارغ ہوئے تھے کہ یہ جماعت آ گئی ۔ یہ لوگ مولوی صاحب کو گھیر کر بیٹھ گئے ، اور ہم اٹھ کر ایک کونہ میں جا بیٹھے ۔ اس روز مقاماتِ حریری کا سبق تھا ۔ کتابیں کھولی گئیں ، اور ایک صاحب نے بڑی گرجتی ہوئی آواز میں اَعُوْذُ بِاللّٰہ سے سبق شروع کیا ۔ زید بن حارث کے سفر کا حال تھا ، اور رات کے وقت سفر کرنے کو ' فی اناء اللیل ' سے ادا کیا تھا ۔ ان بھلے آدمیوں نے رات کو قاموس دیکھ کر مطالعہ کیا تھا ۔ اس میں شامتِ اعمال سے ' اناء ' کے معنے مٹکے کے بھی ہیں ۔ اللہ دے اور بندہ لے ۔ انہوں نے یہاں مٹکا پھنسا دیا ۔ اور نہایت متانت سے ' فی اناء اللیل ' کے معنے ' رات کے مٹکے میں سفر کیا ' سے کر دیئے ۔ مولوی صاحب نے فرمایا ، " ' اناء ' کے دوسرے معنی بھی تو ہیں ۔" پڑھنے والے صاحب نے کہا ، " جی ہاں کئی معنے ہیں لیکن اس مقام پر ' مٹکا ' ہی زیادہ چسپاں ہوتا ہے ۔" ہم کو ہنسی آئی ۔ مولوی صاحب نے مسکرا کر اور ان لوگوں نے نہایت برے برے دیدوں سے ہماری طرف دیکھا ۔ ہم نے سوچا بھائی یہاں ہمارا ٹھکانا نہیں ۔ یہاں سے کھسک ہی جانا مناسب ہے ۔ کہیں کوئی اُٹھ کر گلا نہ گھونٹ دے ۔ ہم نے اجازت چاہی ۔ مولوی صاحب کہتے ہی رہے ، " بیٹھو ذرا اور کچھ سن جاؤ ۔" ہم نے کہا ، " مولوی صاحب ہم کو کام ہے کسی اور دن دیکھا جائے گا ۔" یہ کہہ جوتیاں پہن سر پر پاؤں رکھ کر بھاگے ۔ کوٹھے سے اُتر کر جو ہنسنا شروع کیا تو گھر پہنچتے پہنچتے بڑی مشکل سے ہنسی رُکی ۔

اب جب کبھی خیال آتا ہے تو اس جماعت کا نقشہ آنکھوں کے نیچے پھر جاتا ہے ۔ اور رات کے مٹکے میں سفر کرنے کا فقرہ ہنساتا نہیں تو مسکراہٹ ضرور پیدا کر دیتا ہے ۔

1 *sun cuke*: 'now you have heard', a reference to the previous paragraphs describing the author's own classes with Nazir Ahmad.

2 *tamām ke tamām*: 'absolutely all of them'. The use of reduplication (542a) in this paragraph is a marvellous illustration of the possibilities it offers for ironic exaggeration in HU.

2 *sarhad-pār*: 'across the Frontier', i.e. Afghanistan. The adv. suf. *-pār* has something of the sense of the E pref. 'trans-'.

3 *thān*: 'bolt of cloth', i.e. the full length of material sold by a cloth-dealer for the customer to have made up by a tailor. The outrageously baggy clothes described here are still favoured by orthodox Pathans.

3 *šamlâ ba-miqdār-e 'ilm*: 'turban-end in proportion to learning', a P tag used to ironic effect.

4 *paggaṛ*: the m. form of the familiar f. *pagṛī* suggests the colossal size of their turbans. Cf. 15 *churā* m., suggesting a more fearsome weapon than *churī* f., for another illustration of the HU distinction of m. and f. pairs to indicate large and small varieties of inanimate objects.

4 *ser*: 'seer', the traditional Indian weight, equivalent to 2lb. or about one kilo: 40 seers make a *man* 'maund'.

4 *batāšoṅ kī galī*: 'Sugar-puff Lane', the name of a street in Old Delhi.

5 *mihnat kī ye hālat ki . . .*: like the following *ṭhoṭh aise ki . . .*, the omission of the verb in this pointed phrase is a nice example of the economical possibilities of HU syntax.

7 *moṭī 'aql*: 'thick head'. This is not a loan-translation, but one of those cases where U and E idioms converge.

7 *bhaī*: a familiar term of address, not to be confused with *bhāī*, and which is used to both men and women. Here the rough sense is 'my dear boy'.

8 *mullāṅoṅ*: 'mullahs', the obl.p. of *mullā*.

8 *javāb denā*: 'to dismiss' here, vs. the basic sense of 'to answer'.

9 *allāh miyāṅ* is a familiar term of address to men, also used as a pref. or suf., e.g. in *miyāṅ miṭṭhū* 'Mr. Sweetie' a pet term for parrots. The set phrase *allāh miyāṅ* is characteristic of the way in which women talk to their children about God, but can hardly be translated directly into E.

10 *hazār samjhātā hūṅ*: 'however much I try to explain'.

10 *bhalā*: regularly used in HU to introduce questions expecting the answer 'no', and thus similar in sense to the E formula 'I ask you . . .'.

10 The *Hamāsâ* or *'Verses on Bravery in War'* is an early anthology of A poetry compiled by Abū Tammām (d. 849), and is a regular part of the traditional syllabus of A literature, like the notoriously difficult poetry of Mutanabbī (d. 965).

11 *hīṅg*: 'asafoetida', used as a flavouring in many Indian dishes. The asafoetida trade in India was traditionally carried on by Afghan pedlars, hence this addition to the traditional Pathan occupations of soldiering and labouring.

12 *āp bhī ğazab karte haiṅ*: 'surely you are too going too far'.

12 *ragaṛ se patthar bhī ghis jātā hai*: 'even a stone is worn by rubbing', a proverbial expression.

14 *lo*: in its common sense as an intj. 'well . . . , look . . .'.

14 *rang*: lit. 'colour', but here in its wider idiomatic sense, i.e. 'see what they are like'.

12 The *Maqāmāt* or *'Stations'* of Hariri (d. 1122) is one of the standard texts of classical A prose, pored over by generations of Indian Muslims.

18 *a'ūzu billāh*: 'I seek refuge with God', a common A formula (743).

18 Zaid the son of Haris (d. 629) was a famous hero of early Islam. The A *bin* 'son of' also appears in U as the PA *ibn-e* in personal names.

19 *fī anā' il-lail*: 'in the time of the night', an A prepn. phrase of the same construction as *bismillāh* 'in the name of God' (742). The point of the anecdote is that A *anā'* 'time' looks just like *inā'* 'pot' in the script.

20 *qāmūs*: 'dictionary', an A word derived from the Greek *okeanos* 'ocean', thus suggesting the unfathomable depths of the A lexicon. The *al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt* by al-Firuzabadi (d. 1415) is the classic A dictionary, used for centuries throughout the Muslim world.

20 *šāmat-e a'māl se*: an ironically grand way of saying 'unluckily'.

21 *allāh de aur bandâ le*: 'God proposes and man disposes', another idiom introduced for ironic effect.

23 *paṛhne-vāle sāhib*: 'the gentleman who was reading'. As often, the HU inf. ptc. corresponds to an E relative clause.

24 *muskarā-kar*: 'with a smile'. The cj. ptc. is here syntactically an adv., like the following *bure bure dīdoṅ se* modifying the final *dekhā*.

26 *kahīṅ*: when followed by a negative subj. regularly has this sense of 'I hope they don't . . .'.

26 *ijāzat cāhī*: 'begged permission to leave'.

22 *zarā aur kuch sun jāo*: 'listen to a bit more before you go'. Both the abs. *sun* and *jāo* have independent meaning.

28 *sar par pāoṅ rakh-kar bhāge*: 'ran away as fast as my heels could carry me'.

28 *ghar pahuṅcte pahuṅcte*: 'as I was getting home', a typical reduplication of the adv. ptc.

14
Abul Kalam Azad: *Tarjumān ul Qurān* (1930)

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958) was one of the most notable Muslim figures in the Independence movement. Born in Mecca, he was brought as an infant to Calcutta by his father, who ensured his training in the orthodox Islamic disciplines. As his chosen pen-name 'Azad' indicates, however, he rapidly struck out on his own. In 1912 he founded the Urdu weekly *al-Hilāl* 'The Crescent', whose pan-Islamic line soon brought him into conflict with the authorities in Calcutta. As a result of the temporary convergence of Muslim and Hindu political aspirations in the anti-British agitation of 1920, Azad came into close association with Gandhi, and soon became one of the most prominent members of the Congress party. After Independence, Azad was made Education Minister, an office which he held until his death in 1958, and which he used to establish such important institutions of Indian cultural life as the Sahitya Akademi.

Azad's background meant that his natural medium of expression was Urdu rather than the English preferred by so many Congress leaders: and as a committed Muslim, as well as being a politician, he was particularly concerned with the explanation of Islam to his Indian co-religionists. His greatest achievement in this area was the *Tarjumān ul Qurān*, completed in 1930, in which he sought to provide an easily intelligible Urdu translation of the Quran, with a commentary.

The passage is taken from that part of the introduction which describes the setbacks Azad had to face in the production of the *Tarjumān ul Qurān* as a result of the measures taken against him by the authorities on account of his political activities. Besides recording the harrassment suffered by so many nationalist intellectuals at the time (1919–21), the passage also highlights some of the intrinsic difficulties of Urdu book-production. Azad, having done his best while in detention to get the text of his manuscript into order by having it typed, describes how he was then diverted during his release by the immediate demands of his journal. His efforts to get the text of the book finally produced in calligraphy were then tragically frustrated by the seizure and destruction of all his papers. It was to be nine years before the work was finally published.

The style of the passage is governed by the considerable influence of English syntax and phrasal patterns characteristic of so much everyday Urdu prose over the last sixty years or so, although familiar English legal and political terms appear in the Persianized guise of their coined Urdu equivalents.

The text is taken from *Tarjumān ul Qurān* (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1947), pp.5–6, somewhat freely translated in Syed Abdul Latif, *The Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962), pp. xxviii–xxix.

I.H. Azad Faruqi, *The Tarjuman al-Qur'an* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1982) is a short critical study of the work's background and contents.

اس خیال سے کہ مسودہ بہتر حالت میں مرتب ہو جائے اور اگر کسی دوسرے شخص کے حوالے کیا جائے تو تصحیح میں آسانی ہو، میں نے اردو ٹائپ رائٹر منگوا کر اسے ٹائپ کرانا شروع کر دیا تھا۔ چنانچہ دسمبر ۱۹۱۹ء میں نصف سے زیادہ حصّہ ٹائپ ہو چکا تھا۔

۲۷ دسمبر ۱۹۱۹ء کو حکومت نے مجھے رہا کر دیا، اور اب طباعت و اشاعت کی تمام رکاوٹیں راہ سے دور ہو گئیں۔ لیکن یہ وہ وقت تھا کہ ملک میں ایک عام سیاسی حرکت کا مواد طیار ہو رہا تھا، اور جہاں تک مسلمانوں کا تعلق ہے، الہلال کی سیاسی دعوت کی صدائے بازگشت ہر گوشے سے بلند ہونے لگی تھی۔ میرے لئے ممکن نہ تھا کہ وقت کے تقاضے سے تغافل کرتا۔ نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ رہا ہوتے ہی تحریکِ لاتعاون کی سرگرمیوں میں مشغول ہو گیا، اور عرصہ تک اس کی مہلت ہی نہیں ملی کہ کسی دوسری طرف نگاہ اٹھا سکتا۔

لیکن ۱۹۲۱ء میں جب ملک کے ہر گوشے سے ترجمان القرآن کے لئے تقاضہ شروع ہوا تو مجھے اس کی اشاعت کے لئے آمادہ ہو جانا پڑا۔ چونکہ ٹائپ کی چھپائی اس کے لئے موزوں نہیں سمجھی گئی تھی، اس لئے کتابت کا انتظام کیا گیا۔ پہلے متن کی کتابت کرائی گئی، پھر ترجمہ لکھوانا شروع کیا۔ نومبر ۱۹۲۱ء میں متن کی کتابت ختم ہو چکی تھی۔ ترجمہ کی کتابت شروع ہوئی تھی۔

لیکن وقت کا فیصلہ اب بھی میرے خلاف تھا!

۱۹۲۱ء کے اواخر میں تحریکِ لاتعاون کی سرگرمیاں منتہائے عروج تک پہنچ گئی تھیں، اور اب ناگزیر تھا کہ حکومت بھی اپنے تمام وسائل کام میں لائے۔ ۲۰ نومبر کو سب سے پہلے حکومتِ بنگال نے قدم اٹھایا، اور ان تمام مجالس کو خلافِ قانون قرار دے دیا جو تحریک کی سرگرمیوں میں مشغول تھیں۔ اس اقدام نے کانگریس کو عدم متابعتِ قانون کے اجراء کا موقع دے دیا، اور ۱۰ دسمبر ۱۹۲۱ء کو بعض دیگر رفقائے بنگال کے ساتھ مجھے بھی گرفتار کر لیا گیا۔

اس مرتبہ میری گرفتاری پریس کے انتظامات میں خلل نہیں ڈال سکتی تھی، کیونکہ کتاب مکمل موجود تھی، اور میں نے اس کا پورا انتظام کر لیا تھا کہ میری عدم موجودگی میں بھی کام بدستور جاری رہے۔ لیکن گرفتاری کے بعد جو واقعہ پیش آیا، وہ اس افسانہ کی آخری المناکی ہے۔ اس کی وجہ سے نہ صرف ترجمان القرآن اور تفسیر کی اشاعت رک گئی، بلکہ میری علمی زندگی کے ولولے افسردہ ہو گئے!

گرفتاری کے بعد جب حکومت نے محسوس کیا کہ میرے برخلاف مقدمہ چلانے کے لئے کافی مواد موجود نہیں ہے، تو اسے مواد کی جستجو ہوئی، اور اس لئے تیسری مرتبہ میرے مکان اور مطبع کی تلاشی لی گئی۔ تلاشی کے لئے جو لوگ آئے تھے، ان میں کوئی شخص ایسا نہ تھا جو اردو یا عربی و فارسی کی استعداد رکھتا ہو۔ جو چیز بھی ان زبانوں میں لکھی ہوئی ملی، انہوں نے خیال کیا اس میں کوئی نہ کوئی بات حکومت کے خلاف ضرور ہوگی۔ نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ قلمی مسودات کا تمام ذخیرہ اٹھا لے گئے، حتیٰ کہ ترجمان القرآن کی تمام لکھی ہوئی کاپیاں بھی توڑ مروڑ کر مسودات کے ڈھیر میں ملا دیں!

1 *is xiyāl se ki*...: 'with the idea that...'. As regularly in HU syntax, a long subordinate clause headed by *ki* is introduced by a demonstrative, hence the common Indian E 'with this idea that...'.

2 *ṭāip karānā*: 'to get it typed'.

4 *rihā kar diyā*: 'released'. *rihā karnā* is an established HU legal term, like many of the words and phrases used in this passage.

5 *ye vaqt vo thā ki*...: 'this was the time when...'.

5 *harakat*: 'movement, action', a looser term than the related A loan 8 *tahrīk* which is regularly used in modern U as a translation of E 'movement' in the political sense.

6 *mavād*: normally meaning 'material' in U, as in 27 below. Here the term is rather vague in sense, perhaps 'basis'.

6 *taiyār*: the spelling with *toe* in place of the usual *te* is a careful Arabicism, still sometimes used in U.

6 *jahāṅ tak musalmānoṅ kā ta'alluq thā*: lit. 'so far as the Muslims' connexion went', i.e. 'so far as the Muslims were concerned'. This very common use of *ta'alluq* after *jahāṅ tak* is an example of the way in which so many U constructions have a one-to-one equivalence with an E construction, thus representing a particular type of loan-translation.

6 *da'vat*: here in its original A sense of 'call to action', rather than the usual modern HU sense of 'invitation, party'.

6–7 *sadā-e bāz-gašt*: 'call for its return', an izafat phrase (841).

7 *buland hone*: 'to be raised'. P *buland* is regularly used in U as a grander equivalent of HU *ūṅcā*.

8 *natījâ ye niklā ki*...: the standard U equivalent of E 'the result was that...'.

8 *tahrīk-e lā-ta'āvun*: a straightforward PA calque from the E 'Non-cooperation Movement', the great anti-British campaign mounted by Gandhi in 1920.

9 *nigāh*: lit. 'gaze', a P loan, equivalent in this phrase-verb to HU *āṅkh uṭhānā*.

11 *ṭāip kī chapāī*: 'printing in type', as opposed to 12 *kitābat* 'calligraphy', which is still the preferred method of reproduction for U books in India and Pakistan.

12 *matan*: 'text', i.e. the A text of the Quran, as opposed to the U translation and commentary.

16 *avāxir*: 'last days', a specialized broken plural (734d) of *āxir*. The antonym is *avāil* 'first days', p. of *avval*.

16 *muntahā-e 'urūj*: 'its highest point', lit. 'the height of its zenith'. The ease with which the izafat can be used to link near-synonyms often leads to redundant hyperbole of this kind in U.

17 *kām meṅ lānā*: 'to employ, to deploy', a common HU phrase-verb.

17 *hukūmat-e bangāl*: 'the government of Bengal'. The U terminology of political institutions abounds in izafat phrases of this type, e.g. the pre-1947 *hukūmat-e hind* 'Government of India', *qaisar-e hind* 'Emperor of India', etc.

18 *xilāf-e qānūn*: 'against the law, illegal', another izafat phrase, this time from the copious repertoire of legal terminology.

19 *'adam-mutāba'at-e qānūn*: 'non-compliance with the law', whose first element, the A *'adam* 'non-existence, lack', also appears in the common U compound 22 *'adam-maujūdagī* 'absence'. The prevalence of izafat phrases, often composed of strings of barely comprehensible A nouns, in U legalese was a major target for attack by the nineteenth century protagonists of H (7).

20 *ba'z dīgar rufaqā-e bangāl*: 'some other colleagues from Bengal'. The frequent use of such hyper-Persianisms in this type of written U style lends some justification to the criticisms laid against it from the H side: here *bangāl ke kuch aur rafīq(oṅ)* really would do just as well.

21 *pres*: a common HU loan from E, replaced in formal U by 27 *matba'*, from A.

21 *xalal ḍālnā*: 'to cause an upset', a common U phrase-verb.

22 *ba-dastūr*: a P prepn. phrase (843).

24 *tafsīr*: the technical term for a commentary on the Quran. Commentaries on other texts, e.g. the *Dīvān* of Ghalib, are termed *tašrīh* in U.

24 *'ilmī*: like the noun *'ilm*, this adj. embraces a wide range of senses in U, from 'scientific' to 'intellectual' or 'scholarly', as here.

26 *mere bar-xilāf*: 'against me', equivalent to *mere xilāf*, but incorporating the P prepn. *bar* (843).

26 *muqaddamâ calānā*: 'to issue a suit', a phrase-verb standard in U legalese.

28 *talāšī*: 'search' in the legal sense, vs. the more general *talāš*.

28 *jo log āe the, un meṅ koī aisā šaxs aisā na thā jo . . .*: an illustration of the loose parataxis so characteristic of the HU relative-clause construction, vs. E 'none of those who came was . . .'.

29 *jo cīz bhī*: 'even the slightest thing'.

30 *uṭhā le gae*: 'they removed and carried away'. Here *uṭhā* is an independent abs., while *le* and *gae* are linked components of the familiar modal compound *le jānā*.

31 *kāpiyāṅ*: 'copy-books', often used in HU as the equivalent of E 'exercise-books', but here presumably 'copies', i.e. the litho-forms prepared by writing in Indian ink on specially prepared transparent paper by calligraphers for the subsequent printing of U books by lithography, until its later replacement by photo-offset printing.

31 *toṛ maroṛ-kar*: 'forcibly, rudely', lit. 'breaking and twisting', a common jingle-compound (524).

31 *milā dīṅ*: lit. 'joined', i.e. 'shoved into'.

15
Premchand:
Urdū hindī aur hindustānī (1934)

Dhanpat Ray Shrivastava, who wrote under the pen-name 'Premchand', is the single most important figure in the development of a mature narrative style in both Hindi and Urdu. Premchand was born in 1880 near Benares, the son of a village postmaster; he was of the Kayasth caste, and he received the education in Urdu and Persian which qualifies the Kayasth for his traditional role as a record-keeper, scribe, or clerk. Premchand worked as a schoolmaster, then as an inspector of schools; around 1920 he began a literary career, first in Urdu, then changing to Hindi because of his awareness of the emergence of a growing readership whose literacy was in the Devanagari script.

Besides prose fiction, Premchand also wrote a substantial number of essays and journalistic pieces, whose language could be either Sanskritized or Persianized according to subject. His journalistic prose was sometimes marked by a certain banality of style, and English thought patterns often show through the veneer of Indian idiom.

The essay *Urdū hindī aur hindustānī* addresses the problem of an appropriate style of speech for promotion as a national language. Premchand followed the Gandhian ideal of a middle-of-the-road Hindustani vernacular, as against the more specialized style of Hindi and Urdu; but he did not always follow his own prescriptions for the avoidance of a heavily Sanskritized register.

The passage begins by presenting the views of those who favour a *laissez-faire* attitude to the separate development of Hindi and Urdu respectively. Premchand condones such a view when the languages are considered at the regional level, on a par with other vernaculars such as Bengali and Marathi; but he draws a distinction between this function of Hindi/Urdu and the function of a national language, which he says must be a compromise free from an excessive reliance on either Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic loanwords. His main argument is a practical one — that a national language must be accessible and widely comprehensible, and that pedantic etymological considerations have no place in this discussion. By totally ignoring the vital role played by cultural affinities in the choice of linguistic register, Premchand ingenuously arrives at the simplistic conclusion that 'Hindustani' should be adopted for the national role; and by a sleight of hand he recommends that the name of this language might just as well be 'Hindi'.

The text is taken from *Kuch vicār* (Allahabad: Sarasvatī Press, 1965), pp.103–105. The best biography of Premchand is Robert Oscar Swan, *Munshi Premchand of Lamhi Village* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1969); for the political background see D.P. Sarin, *Influence of political movements on Hindi literature 1906–1947* (Chandigarh: Panjab University Publication Bureau, 1967), and *LCND*, chapter IV.

देश में ऐसे आदमियों की संख्या कम नहीं है जो उर्दू और हिंदी की अलग अलग और स्वतंत्र उन्नति और विकास के मार्ग में बाधक नहीं होना चाहते । उन्होंने यह मान लिया है कि आरम्भ में इन दोनों के स्वरूपों में चाहे जो कुछ एकता और समानता रही हो, लेकिन फिर भी इस समय दोनों की दोनों जिस रास्ते पर जा रही हैं, उसे देखते हुए इन दोनों में मेल और एकता होना असम्भव ही है । प्रत्येक भाषा की एक प्राकृतिक प्रवृत्ति होती है । उर्दू का फ़ारसी और अरबी के साथ स्वाभाविक सम्बंध है । और हिंदी का संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत के साथ उसी प्रकार का सम्बंध है । उनकी यह प्रवृत्ति हम किसी शक्ति से रोक नहीं सकते । फिर इन दोनों को आपस में मिलाने का प्रयत्न करके हम क्यों व्यर्थ इन दोनों को हानि पहुँचावें ?

यदि उर्दू और हिंदी दोनों अपने आपको अपने जन्म स्थान और प्रचार क्षेत्र तक ही परिमित रखें तो हमें इनकी प्राकृतिक वृद्धि और विकास के सम्बंध में कोई आपत्ति न हो । बँगला, मराठी, गुजराती, तमिल, तेलगु और कन्नड आदि प्रांतीय भाषाओं के सम्बंध में हमें किसी प्रकार की चिंता नहीं है । उन्हें अधिकार है कि वे अपने अंदर चाहे जितनी संस्कृत, अरबी या लैटिन आदि भरती चलें । उन भाषाओं के लेखक आदि स्वयं ही इस बात का निर्णय कर सकते हैं ; परन्तु उर्दू और हिन्दी की बात इन सबसे अलग है । यहाँ तो दोनों ही भारतवर्ष की राष्ट्रीय भाषा कहलाने का दावा करती हैं । परंतु वे अपने व्यक्तिगत रूप में राष्ट्रीय आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति नहीं कर सकीं और इसीलिए संयुक्त रूप में स्वयं ही उनका संयोग और मेल आरम्भ हो गया । और दोनों का वह सम्मिलित स्वरूप उत्पन्न हो गया जिसे हम बहुत ठीक तौर पर हिंदुस्तानी ज़बान कहते हैं । वास्तविक बात तो यह है कि भारतवर्ष की राष्ट्रीय भाषा न तो वह उर्दू ही हो सकती है जो अरबी और फारसी के अप्रचलित तथा अपरिचित शब्दों के भार से लदी रहती है और न वह हिंदी ही हो सकती है जो संस्कृत के कठिन शब्दों से लदी हुई होती है । यदि इन दोनों भाषाओं के पक्षपाती और समर्थक आमने सामने खड़े हो कर अपनी साहित्यिक भाषाओं में बातें करें तो शायद एक दूसरे का कुछ भी मतलब न समझ सकें । हमारी राष्ट्रीय भाषा तो वही हो सकती है जिसका आधार सर्व-सामान्य बोधगम्यता हो - जिसे सब लोग सहज में समझ सकें । वह इस बात की क्यों परवाह करने लगी कि अमुक शब्द इसलिए छोड़ दिया जाना चाहिए कि वह फ़ारसी, अरबी अथवा संस्कृत का है ? वह तो केवल यह मानदंड अपने सामने रखती है कि जनसाधारण यह शब्द समझ सकते हैं या नहीं ? और जनसाधारण में हिंदू, मुसलमान, पंजाबी, बंगाली, महाराष्ट्रीय और गजराती सभी सम्मिलित हैं । यदि कोई शब्द या मुहावरा या पारिभाषिक शब्द जनसाधारण में प्रचलित है तो फिर वह इस बात की परवाह नहीं करती कि वह कहाँ से निकला है और कहाँ से आया है । और यही हिंदुस्तानी है । और जिस प्रकार अँगरेजों की भाषा अँगरेजी, जापान की जापानी, ईरान की ईरानी और चीन की चीनी है, उसी प्रकार हिंदुस्तान की राष्ट्रीय भाषा को इसी तौर पर हिंदुस्तानी कहना केवल उचित ही नहीं, बल्कि आवश्यक भी है । और अगर इस देश को हिंदुस्तान न कह कर केवल हिंद कहें तो इसकी भाषा को हिंदी कह सकते हैं । लेकिन यहाँ की भाषा को उर्दू तो किसी प्रकार कहा ही नहीं जा सकता, जब तक हम हिंदुस्तान को उर्दूस्तान न कहने लगें, जो अब किसी प्रकार सम्भव ही नहीं है । प्राचीन काल के लोग यहाँ की भाषा को हिंदी ही कहते थे ।

1 *saṅkhyā kam nahīṅ hai . . . bādhak nahīṅ honā cāhte*: the double negative is inelegant; for a similar lapse of style cf. the repetition of 9–10 *in donoṅ ko*.

2 *unnati aur vikās*: 'progress and development'. Premchand shows in full measure the H propensity for pairing nouns (usually S loans) of similar or identical meaning: cf. 3 *ektā aur samāntā*, 4 *mel aur ektā*, 9 *janm sthān aur pracār kṣetra*, 10 *vṛddhi aur vikās*, 16 *saṅyog aur mel*, 21 *pakṣapātī aur samarthak*, etc.; cf. the U convention of pairing PA words linked with the copular *o* (842).

5–6 *prākṛtik . . . svābhāvik*: both mean 'natural'; both are calques from E.

5 *pravṛtti*: 'tendency, leaning, predilection' — the word suggests 'motion towards', and is thus well chosen to describe the tendency of H and U to look to S and AP respectively for a supply of loanwords.

6 *aur hindī kā saṅskṛt tathā prākṛt ke sāth*: this phrase demonstrates the distinction between the two words for 'and': *aur* is a true cj. with a wide range of functions, while *tathā* simply compounds syntactically parallel nouns within the phrase.

9 *janm sthān aur pracār kṣetra tak hī parimit rakheṅ*: the function of *tak* is restrictive here.

10 *hameṅ . . . koī āpatti na ho*: 'we would have no objection': the subj. suggests that this is hypothetical, and that in fact an objection is about to be raised.

12 *cāhe jitnī saṅskṛt . . . bhartī caleṅ*: 'go on absorbing as much S . . . as they like'.

14 *yahāṇ to*: as so often, *yahāṇ* has a general demonstrative sense, 'as regards this situation', rather than a specifically spacial reference.

15 *rāṣṭrīy bhāṣā*: adj. *rāṣṭrīy* suggests a rather less official status and technical implication than does the nominal compound *rāṣṭra bhāṣā*. The distinction can be imitated in E by exploiting the distinction of upper and lower case letters in 'national language' and 'National Language' respectively.

16 *unkā saṅyog aur mel ārambh ho gayā*: this is a misrepresentation of the actual process, since Hindustani is not a product of a growing together of H and U, but rather the natural state of the vernacular unmodified by the H and U camps.

18 *bhāratvarṣ kī rāṣṭrīy bhāṣā . . .*: the situation described here as unthinkable has become the status quo in Pakistan and India respectively in the half-century since Premchand was writing.

20 *ladī rahtī hai*: compare this construction with the semantically similar ext. ptc. construction of 21 *ladī huī hotī hai*.

21 *āmne sāmne*: 'face to face': *āmne* is a phonetic imitation of *sāmne*, 'opposite', but unlike most 'echo-words' holds first position in the phrase; cf. *ās-pās*, E 'dingle-dangle'.

23 *jiskā ādhār sarv-sāmāny bodhgamyatā ho – jise sab log sahaj meṅ samajh sakeṅ*: 'whose basis should be universal comprehensibility — which everybody could easily understand'. Though here deliberately and somewhat playfully underlining the message of the sentence, this use of a second register to gloss a first is a fairly common feature of H prose. Note how the change of register from formal to simple is here accompanied by a change of syntax from simple to complex (i.e. from adj. clause with simple verb to subject-object clause with adverbially qualified modal verb).

24 *kyoṅ parvāh karne lagī*: the perfect tense expresses a hypothetical situation, as in a conditional sentence. (The f. subject of the verb is *rāṣṭrīy bhāṣā*.)

27 *hindū, musalmān, panjābī, bangālī . . .*: in the context of a discussion of HU language register, the designations 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' form natural categories alongside those of the regions.

28 *mahārāṣṭrīy*: the S name for and etymon of 'Marathi'. The federal state of 'Maharashtra' did not exist in Premchand's time, though the term itself has long been used to designate the cultural area.

29 *kahāṅ se niklā hai aur kahāṅ se āyā hai*: *nikalnā* relates to origin or etymology, *ānā* to subsequent areas of usage.

30 *jis prakār aṅgrezoṅ kī bhāṣā aṅgrezī . . .*: with characteristic ingenuousness, Premchand proposes a wildly simplistic interpretation of the world's linguistic situation in order to make a rhetorical point. The fact that the language of Iran is called *fārsī*, not *īrānī*, is conveniently overlooked.

33 *agar is deś ko . . . keval hind kaheṅ to iskī bhāṣā ko hindī kah sakte haiṅ*: the seriousness of Premchand's argument degenerates even further with this sentence, which begs the question in an astonishingly brazen manner anticipating the gross misrepresentation of the final sentence of the passage.

36 *prācīn kāl*: 'ancient times', here meaning the late medieval period; the commonplace telescoping of historical time in Indian tradition often results in relatively recent dates having great antiquity attributed to them.

16
M.K. Gandhi and P.D. Tandon: Correspondence (1945)

During the years before and shortly after Independence the question of *rāṣṭra bhāṣā*, 'national language', was hotly debated. The cause of Sanskritized Khaṛī Bolī in Nagari script was promoted by institutions such as the Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan (H.S.S.; 'Hindi Literature Assembly'), founded in Allahabad in 1910; but an equally determined body of opinion espoused by the Hindustānī Pracār Sabhā (H.P.S.; 'Association for the Promulgation of Hindustani'), favoured Hindustani — with the choice of script a hotly-debated question. Though he had earlier advocated the use of Hindi as the vehicle of Congress politics and was closely associated with the H.S.S., of which he was elected President in 1918, Gandhi (1869–1948) came increasingly to see the value of the widespread currency of Hindustani, and he balanced his support for Hindi with parallel support for the Urdu cause. His insistence that literacy in both scripts should be the norm led him into inevitable conflict with the H.S.S. establishment, particularly its founder-member and President, Purushottamdas Tandon (1882–1962), an Allahabad lawyer and Congress politician who was passionately committed to the Hindi cause.

With the exception of his autobiography (written in his native Gujarati) the vast majority of Gandhi's writings in is English. But in his letters Gandhi increasingly turned to the use of Hindi, even when realising that its use was problematic to correspondents such as Nehru.

In this exchange of letters Gandhi consults Tandon on the anomalous position of being a member of both the H.S.S. and the H.P.S., offering to resign from the former, of which Tandon had been elected President in 1923. Tandon's reply is conciliatory, and maintains that there is no fundamental conflict between the tasks of the two organizations. In his first paragraph he refers to Gandhi's support of Urdu as a 'new development', and although the tone of his letter is deferential to a fault, he manages to show his disapproval of this divergence from the unequivocal support for Hindi, rather than 'the Urdu style of Hindi', as the vehicle for the nationalist movement; in his second main paragraph, Tandon reassures Gandhi that there is no reason why a member of the H.S.S. should not also support the H.P.S.

The correspondence is given in Gopal Prasad Vyas, ed., *Gāndhī hindī darśan* (New Delhi: Dilli Pradeshik Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, n.d.) pp. 226–227.

The views of the two protagonists are given in Ahmad 1941 and are discussed in Peter Brock, 'Gandhi and the Hindi movement' in John L. Hill, ed., *The Congress and Indian nationalism* (London: Curzon Press, forthcoming 1990); some of Gandhi's journalistic writing on the subject is collected in *Our language problem* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965). For the general context see *LCND*.

महाबलेश्वर २८.५.१९४५

भाई टंडनजी,

मेरे पास उर्दू खत आते हैं, हिन्दी आते हैं और गुजराती। सब पूछते हैं, मैं कैसे हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन में रह सकता हूं और हिन्दुस्तानी सभा में भी? वे कहते हैं, सम्मेलन की दृष्टि से हिन्दी ही राष्ट्रभाषा हो सकती है जिसमें नागरी लिपि को ही राष्ट्रीय स्थान दिया जाता है; जब मेरी दृष्टि में नागरी और उर्दू लिपि को स्थान दिया जाता है, जो भाषा न फारसीमयी है न संस्कृतमयी है, जब मैं सम्मेलन की भाषा और नागरी लिपि को पूरा राष्ट्रीय स्थान नहीं देता हूं तब मुझे सम्मेलन में से हट जाना चाहिए। ऐसी दलील मुझे योग्य लगती है। इस हालत में क्या सम्मेलन से हटना मेरा फर्ज नहीं होता है! ऐसा करने से लोगों की दुविधा न रहेगी और मुझे पता चलेगा कि मैं कहां हूं।

कृपया शीघ्र उत्तर दें। मौन के कारण मैंने ही लिखा है, लेकिन मेरे अक्षर पढ़ने में सबको मुसीबत होती है इसलिए इसे लिखवाकर भेजता हूं।

आप अच्छे होंगे। आपका, मो॰ क॰ गांधी

१॰ क्रास्थवेट रोड, इलाहाबाद ८.६.१९४५

पूज्य बापूजी, प्रणाम!

आपका २५ मई का पत्र मुझे मिला। हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन और हिन्दुस्तानी-प्रचार-सभा के कामों में कोई मौलिक विरोध मेरे विचार में नहीं है। आपको स्वयं हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलान का सदस्य रहते हुए लगभग २१ वर्ष हुए, इसी बीच आपने हिन्दी-प्रचार का काम राष्ट्रीयता की दृष्टि से किया। वह सब काम गलत था, ऐसा तो आप नहीं मानते होंगे।
२॰ राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से हिन्दी-प्रचार वांछनीय है, यह तो आपका सिद्धान्त है ही। आपके नए दृष्टिकोण के अनुसार उर्दू-शिक्षण का भी प्रचार होना चाहिए। यह पहले काम से भिन्न एक नया काम है जिसका पिछले काम से कोई विरोध नहीं है।

सम्मेलन हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा मानता है। उर्दू को वह हिन्दी की एक शैली मानता है जो विशिष्ट जनों में प्रचलित है।

स्वयं वह हिन्दी की साधारण शैली का काम करता है, उर्दू शैली का नहीं। आप हिन्दी के साथ उर्दू को भी चलाते हैं। सम्मेलन उसका तनिक भी विरोध नहीं करता है। किन्तु राष्ट्रीय कामों में अंग्रेज़ी को हटाने में वह उसकी सहायता का स्वागत करता है। भेद केवल इतना है कि आप दोनों चलाना चाहते हैं। सम्मेलन आरम्भ से केवल हिन्दी चलाता आया है। हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के सदस्यों को हिन्दुस्तानी प्रचार सभा के सदस्य होने में रोक नहीं है।
३॰ हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलान की ओर से निर्वाचित हिन्दुस्तानी एकेडमी हिन्दी और उर्दू दोनों शैलियां और लिपियां चलाती है। इस दृष्टि से मेरा निवेदन है कि मुझे इस बात का कोई अवसर नहीं लगता कि आप सम्मेलन छोड़ें। . . .

मुझे जो बात उचित लगी, ऊपर निवेदन किया। किन्तु यदि आप मेरे दृष्टिकोण से सहमत नहीं हैं और आपकी आत्मा यही कहती है कि सम्मेलन से अलग हो जाऊं तो आपके अलग होने की बात पर बहुत खेद होते हुए भी नतमस्तक हो आपके निर्णय को स्वीकार करूंगा।

हाल में हिन्दी और उर्दू के विषय में एक वक्तव्य मैंने दिया था, उसकी एक प्रतिलिपि सेवा में भेजता हूं। निवेदन है कि इसे पढ़ लीजिएगा।

विनीत, पु॰ दा॰ टंडन

Gandhi's H is simple and unpretentious; he prefers short sentences and straightforward syntax, and uses loanwords freely. Tandon's H reflects the more formal and literary style of the Sanskritized register, but does not despise PA loans and is far from being pedantic. Both writers' language is heavily influenced by E.

2 *bhāī ṭaṇḍanjī*: this informal opening contrasts strongly with Tandon's more reverential 15 *pūjya bāpūjī, praṇām!*, the distinction underlining the relative status of the two writers. Cf. the contrast between the two styles of signing off: Gandhi's 13 *āpkā*, Tandon's 38 *vinīt* 'humble [servant]'.

6 *phārsīmayī*: the use of a S suffix with a non-S word is rather unusual.

8 *haṭ jānā cāhie*: 'should clear out' — the colloquial register makes this a deliberately blunt and forceful expression.

10 *maiṅ kahāṅ hūṅ*: a very clear calque from E 'where I am', i.e. where I stand on this matter.

11 *kṛpayā śīghra uttar deṅ*: 'kindly reply promptly'. More formal in register than the overall tone, this is a typical letter-writing formula.

11 *maun ke kāraṇ*: probably a reference to one of Gandhi's regular vows of silence, when he would communicate only in writing.

12 *ise likhvākar bhejtā hūṅ*: a perfect example of the word-economy of HU syntax, here using the cj. ptc. of a causative verb.

13 *āp acche hoṅge*: an economical way of saying 'I trust you are well', very clipped and unceremonious.

13 *mo.ka.gāndhī*: note the traditional abbreviation to the first syllable of the name; cf. 38 *pu.dā.ṭaṇḍan*. The usage tends now to be replaced by the practice of transcribing the pronounced value of the English initials, e.g. '*em.ke*', '*pī.ḍī*', also followed in U.

14 *krāsthveṭ roḍ*: 'Crossthwaite Road', named after a governor of the United Provinces. Most roads in the 'Civil Lines' areas of Indian towns had English names deriving from provincial England or from the names of British administrators etc.; since Independence these have been largely replaced by Indian names such as 'Mahatma Gandhi Marg'.

17 *āpko . . . sadasya rahte hue lagbhag 27 varṣ hue*: 'you have been a member for about 27 years': use of *rahnā* rather than *honā* is dicated in such phrases, as meaning 'continuing to be, remaining' rather than 'becoming'.

19 *vah sab kām galat thā, aisā to āp nahīṅ mānte hoṅge*: 'I'm sure you don't consider all that work to have been wrong?' — a typical HU paratactic construction, the proposition *vah sab kām galat thā* being stated first, then negated in a second clause linked with correlative *aisā*. Cf. the following sentence, in which the postulate comprising the first clause is picked up by the pronoun *yah* in the second.

20 *yah to āpkā siddhānt hai hī*: 'this is after all your principle'.

21 *śikṣaṇ*: 'instruction, teaching' — distinct in sense and gender from the more abstract f. *śikṣā* 'education'.

24 *viśiṣṭ janoṅ meṅ pracalit*: 'current among certain people'. The intended implication is that U is the language of a minority group, while H enjoys widespread currency among the population at large: something of an over-simplification of the real situation at the time.

25 *svayaṃ vah*: 'it itself' — the reference is to the Sammelan.

26 *calāte haiṅ*: 'help advance, support the cause of'.

26 *sammelan uskā tanik bhī virodh nahīṅ kartā hai*: 'The Sammelan does not oppose it [Urdu] in the slightest'. Retention of auxiliary *hai* with the negative gives emphasis to the denial.

28 *hindī sāhitya sammelan kī or se nirvācit*: 'elected by the H.S.S.', a pre-modifier to *hindustānī ekeḍamī*. *kī or se* commonly has the sense of 'by, through, under the auspices of'; cf. similar *kī taraf se*.

31 *merā nivedan hai*: 'my submission is', 'I submit'.

34 *āpkī ātmā . . . kahtī hai*: 'your spirit says' — the usage perhaps reflects the Western concept of 'conscience' rather than the original sense of *ātmā* as 'self, spirit'; cf. the more natural HU expressions with *jī* — *jī cāhnā, jī karnā* etc.

35 *natmastak ho*: 'with bowed head', i.e. 'humbly'. *ho* is the abs. (532a).

35 *nirṇay*: 'judgement' — distinct from *niścay* 'determination, resolve', though both can translate 'decision'.

36 *sevā meṅ*: 'in submission to you, for your consideration'; cf. U *xidmat meṅ*.

17
Ramchandra Varma: *Acchī Hindī* (1946)

Ramchandra Varma's *Acchī Hindī* is an influential guide to the correct use of Hindi prose; it represents a continuation of the pioneering work of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (**12**), the first authoritative arbiter in the establishing of grammatical and stylistic conventions. Varma's study, which has become a standard work of reference and has been published in countless editions since it first appeared in 1946, has something of the status of Ernest Gowers' *Plain Words* or Fowler's *Modern English Usage* in the context of English prose styles, and addresses similar problems.

Varma's ideas about language use are representative of the views of most advocates of the Sanskritized style of Hindi. While his principle objective is to recommend a clear and accessible style for prose-writing, he has a clear bias in favour of that so-called 'purity' of style which accepts Sanskrit loans with open arms but which regards Arabic and Persian words as entirely alien to the nature of Hindi. He himself writes in a highly Sanskritized style, not only because it is in keeping with his message but also because linguistic and literary analysis in Hindi naturally looks to the norms and procedures of its historical ancestor.

In the present chapter Varma writes about *chāyā-kaluṣit bhāṣā*, that is, language which bears the imprint of foreign influences. His main concentration is on the important impact of English on Hindi, but he also discusses the 'polluting' effect of Indian languages such as Bengali, Marathi and Urdu; the first paragraph of the extract emphasizes the importance of recognising the 'true nature' of Hindi, and defines what is meant by the very revealing term *chāyā-kaluṣit*.

In the second paragraph, Varma discusses the influence of Persian and Arabic vocabulary and syntax on Urdu, his own heavy bias towards Hindi being clearly apparent from the very first sentence. He supports his pro-Hindi arguments with a quotation from the influential Hindi literary critic and historian Ramchandra Shukla; and he goes on to voice some specific objections about the use of particular Persian or Arabic words for which, he claims, existing Sanskritic synonyms are to be preferred.

The text is taken from *Acchī hindī*, 6th ed. (Benares: Sahitya-Ratna-Mala Karyalaya, 1950), pp.230 and 243–244. The development of grammatical and stylistic studies in Hindi is discussed in Tej. K. Bhatia, *A history of the Hindi grammatical tradition* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987).

हमें हिन्दी लिखने से पहले उसकी वास्तविक प्रकृति और ठीक स्वरूप का पूरा-पूरा ज्ञान प्राप्त करना चाहिए। बिना इस प्रकार का ज्ञान प्राप्त किये जो हिन्दी लिखी जायगी, वह कभी निर्दोष और ठिकाने की न होगी। यही नहीं, संभव है कि उस दशा में हमारे लेखों में बहुत-सी ऐसी बातें भी आ जायँ जो हमारी भाषा की प्रकृति और स्वरूप के विरुद्ध हों। और यदि हम कुछ अन्यान्य भाषाएँ भी जानते होंगे, तो हमारे लेख में उन भाषाओं के मुहावरों, क्रिया-प्रयोगों और भाव-व्यंजन-प्रणालियों की भी बहुत-कुछ छाया आ जायगी। जिस भाषा पर इस प्रकार की परकीय भाषाओं की थोड़ी या बहुत छाया हो, वही "छाया-कलुषित" है।

यद्यपि तात्त्विक दृष्टि से उर्दू और हिन्दी में कोई विशेष भेद नहीं माना जाता और यही कहा जाता है कि उर्दू भी हिन्दी का एक रूप अथवा शाखा ही है, फिर भी कुछ बातों में उर्दू और हिन्दी में कई छोटे-मोटे अन्तर हैं। उर्दूवाले जिस प्रकार अरबी और फारसी से अपने शब्द लेते हैं, उसी प्रकार वे अपने वाक्यों के रूप भी यथासाध्य अरबी और फारसी की वाक्य-रचना के अनुरूप ही रखना चाहते हैं। अरबी और फारसी की प्रकृतियों में परस्पर अन्तर है। अरबी सामी परिवार की भाषा है और फारसी हमारे आर्य या संस्कृत परिवार की। संस्कृत से फारसी का जितना सामीप्य और घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है, अरबी से उसका उतना ही दूरत्व और दुजायगी है। दोनों के इतिहासों में यह विरोध बराबर बढ़ता हुआ दिखाई देता है। उर्दूवाले अरबी और फारसी के इस अन्तर पर ध्यान न देकर दोनों से अपने शब्द भी लेते हैं और भाव व्यक्त करने की प्रणालियाँ और वाक्य रचना के प्रकार भी। फिर उर्दू का मूल है तो संस्कृत-जन्य पुरानी हिन्दी ही; इसलिए उर्दू में हिन्दी, अरबी और फारसी तीनों भाषाओं की अनेक बातों का विलक्षण मिश्रण दिखाई देता है। जिन्हें उर्दू का विशेष अभ्यास होता है अथवा जो उर्दू से अनुवाद करने बैठते हैं, उनपर उर्दू की इन विलक्षणताओं का प्रभाव पड़े बिना नहीं रहता; और उनकी भाषा अरबी-फारसी की छाया से कलुषित रहती है।

स्व॰ आचार्य रामचन्द्र जी शुक्ल ने अपने "हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास" में बतलाया है कि चार बातों में हिन्दी से उर्दू में भिन्नता हो रही है -

" उर्दूवाले एक तो अरबी-फारसी के शब्द तत्सम रूप में लेते हैं। दूसरे, उर्दू पर फारसी के व्याकरण का प्रभाव बहुत अधिक पड़ रहा है। तीसरे, वे सम्बन्ध कारक की विभक्ति का लोप करके उसके स्थान पर 'ए' की इजाफत करके समस्त-पद बनाते हैं। और चौथे, वे कभी-कभी क्रिया को ही कर्त्ता से पहले रखकर अथवा इसी प्रकार के कुछ और परिवर्तन करके अपना वाक्य-विन्यास ही निराला कर लेते हैं।" कुछ हिन्दी लेखकों की कृतियों में ये सब या इनमें से कई बातें प्रायः दिखाई देती हैं।

किसी दूसरी भाषा से शब्द लेने में कोई बुराई नहीं। परन्तु वह शब्द-ग्रहण अनावश्यक नहीं होना चाहिए। यदि हम अपने घर के शब्दों का परित्याग करके और आँखें बन्द करके पराये शब्द लेते चलें, तो यह कोई बुद्धिमता की बात न होगी, प्रत्युत् एक प्रकार की आत्महत्या होगी। परन्तु खेद तो इस बात का है कि उर्दू का प्रभाव हम पर इतना अधिक पड़ा है कि हम "सजा" और "शुरू" को तो सहज समझते हैं और "दण्ड" तथा "आरम्भ" को कठिन। "मुश्किल" तो हमारे लिए सहज होता है, पर "कठिन" कठिन ही रह जाता है! हमें "पृथ्वी" की जगह "जमीन", "आकाश" की जगह "आसमान" और "अभ्यास" की जगह "आदत" कहने की आदत पड़ गई है। कुछ लोग सिर, भूख, झूठ, ठंढक और धोखा की जगह उर्दूवाले की देखा-देखी सर, भूक, झूट, ठंडक और धोका तथा "हजारों" की जगह "हजारहा" भी लिखते देखे जाते हैं।

1 *pūrā-pūrā jñān*: 'a full and complete knowledge' (542a).

3 *ṭhikāne kī*: 'appropriate'.

3 *yahī nahīṅ*: 'not just this', i.e. 'furthermore'.

6 *kriyā-prayogoṅ aur bhāv-vyañjan-praṇāliyoṅ*: 'verb usages and ways of expression'; the vocabulary of grammatical analysis in H naturally comprises S loans, and its main terms are given on the following page.

8 *tāttvik dṛṣṭi se*: 'from the fundamental view', i.e. 'essentially'. *tāttvik* is the *vṛddhi* form of the noun *tattva* 'element, essence'; cf. 14 *sāmīpya* 'proximity', the *vṛddhi* form of *samīp* 'near' (612).

10 *urdūvāle*: Varma squanders no honorific expressions on the supporters of H's main linguistic rival.

11 *yathāsādhya*: a S expression formed from *yathā* 'in which manner, as' + *sādhya* 'feasible'. Cf. *yathāśīghra* 'as promptly as can be managed'.

11 *ke anurūp*: 'in conformity with, following the form of'; emphasizing the form (*rūp*) of the thing described, this ppn. is distinct from the more abstract *ke anusār* 'according to' (*anu-* 'according to' + *sār* 'essence'), with which it is often confused.

12 *prakṛtiyoṅ meṅ paraspar antar hai*: 'there is a difference between their natures'; *paraspar* 'mutual', though tautological in E, has a natural place in the H sentence because the ppn. *meṅ* does not alone carry the contrastive sense of E 'between'.

16 *bhī . . . bhī*: 'both . . . and', here separated by a long clause.

17 *phir urdū kā hai to . . . purānī hindī hī*: 'And after all, the origin of U lies in nothing but . . . Old H'.

17 *sanskṛt-janya*: 'S-derived'. (S suff. *-janya* 'born of, derived from'.)

18 *urdū meṅ . . . vilakṣaṇ miśraṇ dikhāī detā hai*: Varma here perpetuates the myth of the alleged 'purity' of H in comparison with the 'mixed' nature of U.

20 *unpar . . . prabhāv paṛe binā nahīṅ rahtā*: 'the influence cannot but fall on them', i.e. 'they cannot fail to be influenced'.

22 *sva.*: an abbreviation for *svargīy*, 'the late, deceased'.

22 *ācārya rāmcandra jī śukla: ācārya* is an honorific title used for spiritual preceptors and highly revered academics. Ramchandra Shukla was a founding-father of the modern study of H literature, of which his *Hindī sāhitya kā itihās* (1939) is a standard history. Notice how *jī* follows the given name *rāmcandra* rather than the Brahman caste-name *śukla*.

23 *hindī se urdū meṅ bhinnatā ho rahī hai*: 'U is becoming increasingly distinct from H', implying that H is the norm from which U is deviating.

24 *tatsam rūp*: though the *tatsam/tadbhava* contrast is usually used in discussing S-derived languages, it here applies to A and P borrowings.

26 *kriyā ko hī karttā se pahle rakhkar*: 'placing the verb before the subject', i.e. on the model of e.g. *kahā hai kisī ne*.

27 *apnā vākya-vinyās hī nirālā kar lete haiṅ*: 'make their very syntax bizarre'; the irony of modal *lenā* suggests a wilfulness in the way these these *Urdūvāle* tamper with the 'proper' syntax.

30 *śabd-grahaṇ*: 'taking of words', word-borrowing.

31 *parityāg*: suff. *pari-*, 'fully', strengthens the sense of *tyāg*, rather as 'abandon' is rather stronger than 'give up'.

32 *pratyut*: 'but rather'; being very much less current than P *balki* in H usage, this S borrowing is rather anomalous in a sentence which stresses the value of domestic vocabulary. This shows clearly how loans from S are not regarded as loans at all, no matter how obscure they may be, while even well-established PA loans are considered to be beyond the pale.

جب ہندوستان کی ایک مشترکہ قومی زبان کا سوال اٹھتا ہے تو اردو ہندی کا جھگڑا کھڑا ہو جاتا ہے ہندی کے حامی کہتے ہیں کہ ہندوستان کی راشٹر بھاشا ہونے کا حق صرف ہندی کو ہے۔ اردو والے اعلان کرتے ہیں کہ اردو ہی اس ملک کی قومی زبان بن سکتی ہے۔ ہندی والے اردو والوں کو، اور اردو والے ہندی والوں کو قائل نہیں کر سکتے۔۔۔۔۔ ان دونوں گروہوں کے درمیان گاندھی جی اور ان کے حمایتی کھڑے ہیں۔ اردو کی حمایت کرنے والوں کی اکثریت بھی گاندھی جی کے تصور والی ہندوستانی کو قبول کرنے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہے۔

اس طرح ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ ہمارے ملک میں تہذیبی میدان میں گویا دو ایسے کیمپ بن گئے ہیں جو ایک دوسرے سے لڑ جھگڑ رہے ہیں۔ اور یہ تہذیبی جنگ دن بدن زیادہ شدید ہوتی جاتی ہے۔

دونوں فریق صرف اپنے کو سچائی پر سمجھتے ہیں۔ دوسری طرف انہیں صرف جھوٹ اور ضد اور تعصب نظر آتا ہے۔

اب سوال یہ اٹھتا ہے کہ اگر وہ سب کچھ ٹھیک ہے جو اردو والے ہندی کے متعلق اور ہندی والے اردو کے متعلق سوچتے ہیں، اور اگر ان دونوں زبانوں کی بنیاد مصنوعی اور غیر فطری ہے، تو پھر اس کا کیا سبب ہے کہ ان دونوں زبانوں کی دن بدن ترقی ہو رہی ہے اور ان کی مقبولیت عوام میں بڑھ رہی ہے؟ ان میں ہماری قوم کے بہترین علمی، سیاسی، فلسفیانہ، مذہبی اور ادبی خیالات و جذبات کی ترجمانی ہو رہی ہے۔ ہندوستان کے ان علاقوں میں بھی جہاں دوسری زبانیں بولی اور لکھی جاتی ہیں، اردو اور ہندی کو لوگ شوق سے پڑھتے ہیں اور موقع پڑنے پر بولتے بھی ہیں۔ اردو اور ہندی کو ہندوستان میں ایک بین الاقوامی حیثیت حاصل ہو رہی ہے۔ بہت سے لوگ جو ہندوستان کی دوسری زبانیں بولتے اور لکھتے پڑھتے ہیں، اردو یا ہندی بولنا اور پڑھنا اپنا قومی فرض سمجھنے لگے ہیں۔ انجمن ترقیٔ اردو اور اردو کی دوسری انجمنیں کالی کاٹ سے لے کر آسام تک اور چٹ گاؤں سے لے کر کراچی تک پھیل گئی ہیں۔ اسی طرح ہندی کو بھی سارے ہندوستان میں بہت زبردست مقبولیت حاصل ہو رہی ہے۔

ظاہر ہے کہ جب تک کسی زبان کی جڑیں کسی قوم کی تہذیبی اور روحانی روایات میں پیوست نہ ہوں اور جب تک اس کی بنیاد کسی ایسی زندہ بولی پر نہ ہو جو کسی خاص گروہ یا طبقے تک محدود نہیں بلکہ عوام میں بھی رائج ہو، اس وقت تک وہ عمومی حیثیت حاصل نہیں کر سکتی، اور ایک جمہوری اور ترقی پذیر سماج میں کلچر کے ارتقاء کی آلۂ کار نہیں بن سکتی۔ چونکہ اردو اور ہندی ایسی زبانیں ہیں، اس لئے وہ ترقی کر رہی ہیں، اسی لئے ان میں صلاحیت ہے کہ وہ ہندوستان کے مختلف زبان بولنے والے علاقوں کے لوگوں کی مشترک زبان ہوں۔

1–11 The shortness of the opening seven paragraphs (extended only by two further similarly brief paragraphs after 4 in the original) is a stark rhetorical device deliberately designed to draw attention to the polarization of pro-H and pro-U attitudes.

1 *savāl uṭhā hai*: 'the question arises', a common modern phrasal loan from E, cf. 12 below.

2 *rāšṭar-bhāšā*: the S loan so natural in H strikes a deliberately discordant note in U. But the PA equivalent *qaumī zabān*, naturally employed to describe the pro-U position in 3 below, has already somewhat begged the question in 1 *muštarakâ qaumī zabān*, cf. the final 29 *muštarak zabān*.

5 *himāyatī*: 'supporter', equivalent to the A loan 2 *hāmī*, also to the following *himāyat karne-vāloṅ*. A similar choice of the simple HU *-vālā* is to be seen in the use throughout the passage of the straightforward terms *hindī-vāle* and *urdū-vāle*.

6 *gāṅdhī jī ke tasavvur vālī hindustānī*: 'the Hindustani conceived of by Gandhi', illustrating the further common use of *-vālā* as an adj. ppn. formally comparable with *kā* but corresponding in sense to an E post-modifying phrase or relative clause.

7 P *maidān*: here in its common sense of 'battlefield'.

7 E *kaimp*: one of those loans from military usage (**9**), which have long been so well established in HU.

8 *laṛ jhagaṛ rahe haiṅ*: 'are struggling', lit. 'are fighting and quarrelling', a very common jingle-compound (524).

8 *din ba-din*: a P-type prepn. phrase (843).

8 *ziyādâ šadīd hotī jātī hai*: 'keeps growing ever more fierce'.

10 *farīq*: the technical term for a 'party' to a lawsuit, also used in the A dual (733) *farīqain* 'both sides'.

10 *apne ko sacāī par samajhte haiṅ*: 'think that they have truth on their side'.

13 *ğair-fitrī*: the standard calque for 'unnatural' in modern U: cf. A *fiṭrat* f. 'nature'.

14 *taraqqī*: 'progress, development'. This is a key term in the U of all Leftist U writing, like *'avām* 'the people, the masses', and its derivatives.

15 *'ilmī*: 'scholarly, learned', also 'scientific'.

16 *tarjumānī*: 'representation', derived from *tarjumān* 'interpreter', vs. *tarjumâ* 'translation'.

17 *mauqa' paṛne par*: exactly equivalent to 'when the opportunity arises', and probably representing one of those phrasal loan-translations from E which are so common in modern U.

18 *bainal-aqvāmī*: 'international', i.e. bridging the country's internal frontiers. The international status claimed for so many years by their respective protagonists for both H and U has really never been achieved in fact, unless viewed purely as a consequence of emigration from South Asia to many countries overseas. *bainal-aqvāmī* is formally an A prepn. compound (742).

19 *bolte aur likhte paṛhte haiṅ*: the position of *aur* is dictated by the pairing of 'read and write'.

20 The Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdu, whose chief spokesman was Abdul Haq (**10**), was the leading pro-U organization in India at this time.

20 Calicut in modern Kerala is one of the main centres of the Malayalam-speaking Mappilla Muslims. It is thus more appropriate here than *rās kumārī* 'Cape Comorin', the usual southernmost contrast to Assam.

20 *caṭ-gāoṅ*: Chittagong in modern Bangladesh, now usually referred to as *caṭ-gām*. The sentence was of course written before the Partition in August 1947, which left both Chittagong and Karachi on the Pakistan side of the new frontier.

21 *hindī ko bhī*: the mention of H almost as an afterthought is revealing.

22 *jab tak . . . nâ hoṅ*: as usual, the single HU negative construction corresponds both to 'so long as they are not . . .' and 'until they are . . .' in E.

24 *bolī*: 'spoken language', vs. *zabān* or *bhāšā* (522).

36 *'abhyās' kī jagah 'ādat'*: the argument here is slightly misleading, not to say mischievous, because *abhyās* 'practice' is not fully synonymous with *ādat* 'habit'; for example, *abhyās paṛ gayā hai* would not be an appropriate alternative to 36 *ādat paṛ gaī hai*. The same applies, though to a lesser extent, with other pairs cited earlier.

37 *kī dekhā-dekhī*: 'in imitation of, copying'; an expressive ppn. formed by reduplication from HU *dekhnā*, and hence appropriately neutral in this context of the polarization of S vs. AP vocabulary.

37 *sar*: the P word, while *sir*, the usual spelling in H, derives from S *śiras*. In all the other variant forms cited here, the variation is simply the result of aspiration being dropped after prior aspiration; only in the case of *ṭhaṇḍak* has the unaspirated form become established as standard.

38 *hajārhā*: a P plural (831).

* * *

The main items of H grammatical terminology are as follows:

svar	m.	vowel	
vyañjan	m.	consonant	
akṣar	m.	character	
vartanī	f.	spelling	
saṅjñā	f.	noun	
sarvanām	m.	pronoun	
viśeṣaṇ	m.	adjective	
kriyāviśeṣaṇ	m.	adverb	
kartā	m.	subject	
karmavācī	m.	object	
kriyā	f.	verb	(*akarmak* intransitive; *karmak* transitive)
kṛdant	m.	participle	
kāl	m.	tense	(*bhūt* past; *vartmān* present; *bhaviṣat* future)
vācya	m.	voice	(*kartṛ-* active; *karma-* passive)
puruṣ	m.	person	(*uttam* 1st; *madhyam* 2nd; *anya* 3rd)
liṅg	m.	gender	(*pulliṅg* masculine; *strīliṅg* feminine)
vacan	m.	number	(*ekvacan* singular; *bahuvacan* plural)

18
Sajjad Zaheer:
Urdū hindī hindustānī (1947)

Many of the most prominent younger Urdu and Hindi writers of the 1930s and 1940s were united in their commitment to the Marxist ideals of the 'progressive' movement, even if they were divided by nomenclature between Urdu *taraqqī-pasandī* and Hindi *pragativādī*. Founded in London in 1935, the All India Progressive Writers' Association was from the outset dominated by members of the Communist party.

This passage is taken from a short pamphlet dealing with the vexed question of the choice of a national language for India, written by Sajjad Zaheer, a hard-line Communist writer who played a key role in the foundation and subsequent direction of the P.W.A. Published at Annas 12 in 1947, it was obviously written somewhat earlier, since it takes no account of the creation of Pakistan, to which all members of the Communist Party of India (including those from Muslim backgrounds) were opposed in principle.

Although the aspirations of left-wing writers in South Asia to reach the masses are frustrated by the stubbornly high levels of illiteracy in both India and Pakistan, Sajjad Zaheer was clearly aiming at a popular audience. The passage opens with seven deliberately short paragraphs, which set out very simply and very forcefully the entrenched attitudes of the Hindi and the Urdu camps, and are suitably dismissive of the Hindustani compromise suggested by Gandhi. The longer following paragraph rejects both extremes, and points with Marxist logic to the mass support for Hindi and Urdu, as clearly evident from their huge spread throughout undivided India. The suggestion that it is therefore the 'will of the masses' which must prevail in the formulation of language policy is made explicit in the final paragraph. Neither here nor elsewhere in the pamphlet does Sajjad Zaheer come down on the side of one language or the other: his eventual conclusion is, in fact, that both Hindi and Urdu should be the national languages of India, with a suitable enhancement of their shared elements. No matter which perspective they were writing from, therefore, no proponent of compromise was able to suggest any very realistic solution to the language question: and Sajjad Zaheer differs only in the greater role implied for Urdu from Premchand in his identically titled essay (**15**).

The style has most of the obvious features which typify Marxist writers of the period, no matter which European or Asian language they were writing in. The syntax is rather simple, and the choice of vocabulary straightforward. There is plenty of repetition to drive the points home, with the usual prominence being given to core ideological terms, e.g. the Urdu equivalents of 'masses', 'popular', 'progressive', 'democratic', etc.

The passage is taken from *Urdū hindī hindustānī* (Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1947), pp. 5–7.

Similar views on the language question are expressed by Mohammad Din Taseer in Ahmad 1941, pp. 221–236.

24 *xās guroh*: 'elite group'. The positive identification with the *'avām* at the expense of the *xavās* or 'elite' is a reversal of the values attached to these antonyms by U writers with conservative attitudes (**11**).

25 *'umūmī haisiyat*: 'popular character, mass status', reflecting the common origin of *'umūmī* and *'avām*, from the A root 'MM.

26 *jumhūrī aur taraqqī-pazīr*: 'democratic and progressive', two more loan-translations from E commonly used in Leftist U writing.

26 *kalcar*: a phonetically-spelt E loan, frequently used in U as a synonym for A *tahzīb* or *saqāfat*: cf. the adj. *kalcaral*.

26 *ālâ-e kār*: lit. 'tool of work', i.e. 'effective instrument', illustrating the way in which P izafat phrases often serve in U to represent E phrases consisting of an adj. and a noun.

28 *muxtalif zabān bolne-vāle 'ilāqoṅ ke logoṅ kī*: 'of the people of different linguistic areas'. The inf. ptc. is here used as an adj.

19
Rajendra Prasad: *Ātmakathā* (1947)

Rajendra Prasad (1884–1963) was the first President of the Indian Republic, a post which he gained after years of involvement in the Indian National Congress, and which he held from 1950 to 1962. It was under the influence of Gandhi that he chose Hindi as the medium for his modest output of essays and other writing; but his schooling had been primarily in Urdu, Persian and English — all essential qualifications for his chosen career as a lawyer — while Hindi and Sanskrit had been rather lower in his list of priorities.

Though 'Rajendra Babu', as he is commonly known in Hindi sources, did write on literary topics, and though his status ensures a degree of critical praise for his writing skills, he had no real aspirations to sophistication in his writing style, but rather maintained an almost conversational naturalness and simplicity in much of his work, preferring short colloquial words to long literary ones. His choice of vocabulary is, nevertheless, evidence of his literacy in the three cultural languages of Persian, Sanskrit and English.

Prasad's autobiography, *Ātmakathā*, was published in the year of Independence, much of it having been written between 1942 and 1945 while serving the jail sentence which was the lot of so many Congress politicians involved in the Independence struggle. Much of the book is concerned, unsurprisingly, with the narration and analysis of political developments (including, in Chapter 115, the 'national language' question); but of equal interest is the description of Prasad's childhood, and it is from this early part of the book that the extract is taken.

The passage begins with an account of Prasad's initiation into the world of literacy by the Maulvi Sahab, a humorous but rather daunting figure who made a great impression on the boys in his charge. The second paragraph recounts details of the Persian classes given by the Maulvi in his little room adjacent to the family house; the daily routine started early, with lessons before sunrise, but allowed sufficient time for relaxation and the taking of meals; in the early afternoon the boys would rest with their teacher in his room, secretly playing chess and other games while he slept; after another round of lessons and relaxation there was the evening lighting of lamps before the final lesson of the day.

A description of the recitation of the Hindi *Rāmāyaṇ* follows in the third paragraph. In a predominantly illiterate society, few people were able to carry out the simplest of tasks to do with reading or writing; but a basic literacy in the Kaithī script was imparted to some of the villagers by a member of the Muslim weaver caste, and on the basis of such shaky education there would be almost daily readings of the *Rāmāyaṇ* in which the assembled audience would repeat the Hindi verses aloud and so learn a few stanzas and prayers by heart.

The Hindi text is taken from *Ātmakathā* (Patna: Sahitya Sansar, 1947), pp.62–7, 8–9, and 12–13. A very loose English version, apparently translated by the author, is published under the title *Autobiography* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1957), the relevant passages being on pp.7–8 and 11. For the background to Prasad's involvement in the national language issue, see *LCND*, chapter V.

पाँचवें या छठे बरस में मेरा अक्षरारम्भ कराया गया था। उस समय मेरे भाई अँगरेजी पढ़ने के लिए छपरे भेजे जा चुके थे। उस समय की प्रचलित प्रथा के अनुसार अक्षरारम्भ मौलवी साहब ने कराया था। जिस दिन अक्षरारम्भ हुआ, मौलवी साहब आये, बिसमिल्लाह के साथ अक्षरारम्भ हुआ, शीरनी बाँटी गयी और उनको रुपये भी दिये गये। हम तीन विद्यार्थी उनके सुपुर्द किये गए - एक मैं और दूसरे दो अपने कुटुम्ब के ही चचेरे भाई, जिनमें एक यमुना प्रसाद जी सबसे बड़े और मुझसे दो बरस बड़े हैं, तीसरे अब नहीं रहे; वह भी मुझसे बड़े थे।

पढ़ने का तरीका था कि खूब सवेरे हम लोग उठकर मकतब में चले आते। मकतब मेरे पक्के मकान से अलग एक दूसरे मकान के ओसारे में था। एक कोठरी थी जिसमें मौलवी साहब रहा करते और सामने ओसारे में तख्तपोश पर बैठकर हम लोग पढ़ा करते। मौलवी साहब कभी अपनी चारपाई पर और कभी तख्तपोश पर बैठकर पढ़ाया करते। सवेरे आकर पहले का पढ़ा हुआ सबक एक बार आमोख्ता करना पड़ता और जो जितना जल्द आमोख्ता कर लेता उसको उतना ही जल्द नया सबक पढ़ा दिया जाता। मैं अक्सर अपने दोनों साथियों से पहले मकतब में पहुँच जाता और आमोख्ता भी पहले खतम करके सबक भी पहले पढ़ लिया करता। यह करते सूर्य्योदय होकर कुछ दिन भी निकल आता। तब नौकर आता और साथ ले जाकर मुँह-हाथ धुला देता और घर माँ के पास कुछ खिलाने के लिए पहुँचा देता। इसके लिए प्रायः आध घंटे पौन घंटे की छुट्टी मिलती। नाश्ता करके लौटने पर सबक याद करना पड़ता और सबक याद करके सुना देने के बाद मौलवी साहब हुकुम देते, किताब बन्द करो। किताब बन्द करके तख्ती निकालनी पड़ती। इन दोनों क्रियाओं के बीच कुछ समय खेलने-कूदने का भी मिल जाता या दोबारा घर जाकर कुछ खा लेने का भी मौका मिल जाता। तख्ती पर लिखना होता और जब तख्ती भर जाती तो उसे धोना पड़ता। इस क्रिया में भी कुछ समय आपस में हँसने-खेलने का मिलता। दोपहर को नहाने-खाने के लिए एक-डेढ़ घंटे की छुट्टी मिलती और खाकर फिर मकतब में ही उसी तख्तपोश पर सोना पड़ता। मौलवी साहब चारपाई पर सोते। हम लोगों को अक्सर नींद नहीं आती और तख्तपोश पर लेटे-लेटे शतरंज खेलते और जब मौलवी साहब के जागने का वक्त होता उसके पहले ही गोटियों को उठाकर रख देते। उसी जमाने में कभी शतरंज खेलना भी आ गया, पर उसका पता नहीं कि कब, कैसे और किससे सीखा। फिर सेपहर को दूसरा सबक मिलता और उसको कुछ हद तक याद करके सुनाने के बाद घंटा-डेढ़-घंटा दिन रहते खेलने के लिए छुट्टी मिलती। इसी समय गेंद, चिक्का इत्यादि खेल खेले जाते। संध्या को फिर चिराग-बत्ती जलते किताब खोलकर पढ़ने के लिए बैठना पड़ता। दिन के दोनों सबक याद करके फिर सुनाने पड़ते और तब हुक्म होता, किताब बन्द करो। किताब बन्द करके, कायदे के मुताबिक मौलवी साहब को आदाब करके, घर जाकर सो जाते।

एक चीज, जिसका असर मुझपर बचपन से ही पड़ा है, रामायणपाठ है। गाँव में अक्षरज्ञान तो थोड़े ही लोगों को था। उन दिनों एक भी प्राइमरी या दूसरे प्रकार का स्कूल उस गाँव अथवा कहीं जवार-भर में नहीं था। मौलवी साहब हम लोगों को तीन-चार रुपये मासिक और भोजन पाकर पढ़ाते थे। गाँव में एक दूसरे मुसलमान थे, जो जाति के जुलाहा थे, मगर कैथी लिखना जानते थे। मुड़कट्टी हिसाब भी जानते थे, जिसमें पहाड़ा, डयोढ़ा इत्यादि मन-सेर की बिकरी और की पैमाइश का हिसाब शामिल है। उन्होंने एक पाठशाला खोल रखी थी जिसमें गाँव के कुछ लड़के पढ़ते थे। अक्षर पहचानना तो बहुत थोड़े लोग जानते, पर प्रायः प्रतिदिन संध्या के समय कुछ लोग कहीं न कहीं, मठ में या किसी के दरवाजे पर, जमा हो जाते और एक आदमी रामायण की पुस्तक से चौपाई बोलता और दूसरे सब उसे दुहराते। साथ में झाल और ढोलक भी बजाते थे। वन्दना का हिस्सा तो जब रामायण का पाठ आरम्भ होता तो जरूर दुहराया जाता। इस प्रकार अक्षर से अपरिचित रहकर भी गाँव में बहुतेरे ऐसे लोग थे जो रामायण की चौपाइयाँ जानते और दुहरा सकते और विशेष करके वन्दना के कुछ दोहों को तो सभी प्रायः बरजबान रखते थे।

1 *akṣarārambh*: 'initiation into literacy/schooling' — one of the rites of passage celebrated during childhood.

1 *mere bhāī*: honorific p. exemplifies the respect traditionally shown to an elder brother.

2 *chapre*: Chapra is a town in Bihar, to the west of Patna.

3 *bismillāh*: 'In the name of God', a Muslim invocation uttered at the commencement of any new work (742); cf. the taking of the name of Hindu deities, particularly Ganesh, in the Hindu tradition (and cf. also the phrase-verbs *bismillāh karnā* and *śrīgaṇeś karnā*, 'to commence').

4 *śīrnī* (= *P śīrīnī*): a gift of sweetmeats made at the celebration of an auspicious event.

5 *kuṭumb*: 'household'; a more commonly used term than *parivār*, which is more restricted in its reference, as is E 'family' (and HU *faimilī*: 922).

6 *ab nahīṅ rahe*: 'is no longer [with us]', one of the very large number of HU euphemisms for death.

7 *ham log uṭhkar maktab meṅ cale āte*: 'we would all get up and troop in to the schoolroom'. The habitual nature of the actions described in this and the following sentences is underlined by the ptc. (*āte* etc.) without auxiliary. A *maktab* is a mosque school (722), the Muslim equivalent of a *pāṭhśālā* which teaches the rudiments of Hindu learning.

9 *takhtpoś*: a low wooden frame with a cloth covering.

10 *pahle kā paṛhā huā sabak*: 'the previously learnt lesson' (541).

11 *āmokhtā* (= P *āmoxtâ*): a P ptc. meaning 'learnt', used in the context of U education for going over or revising a learnt lesson.

11 *jo jitnā jald . . . usko utnā hī jald*: once one relative-correlative construction has been set up, it can readily carry a second in parallel.

13 *yah karte sūryyoday hokar kuch din bhī nikal ātā*: 'while [we were] doing this, the sun would rise and a little daylight would appear'. The delightful word-economy of this sentence is made possibly by typical HU ptc. usage (*karte* and *hokar* in their distinct functions).

24 *usī jamāne meṅ kabhī śatranj khelnā bhī ā gayā*: 'it was sometime in those days that I picked up how to play chess'; *bhī* has little emphasis here, but provides a link with the previous sentence as do the words 'it was . . . that . . .' in the E sentence. (542b)

25 *sepahar*: 'in the early afternoon': this P compound (825) is common in U but not in H, which has *tīsrā pahar* as the standard form.

26 *ghaṇṭā-ḍeṛh-ghaṇṭā din rahte*: 'while an hour or so of daylight remained'.

27 *cirāg-battī jalte*: 'with the lamps burning'. The compounding of P *cirāğ* 'lamp' with *battī* 'lamp, wick' is generalizing: 'the various lamps'.

29 *ādāb karke*: 'making a salutation'; the A word *ādāb*, the p. of *adab*, is central to the complex Muslim code of good manners and etiquette.

30 *rāmāyaṇpāṭh*: 'reciting of the *Rāmāyaṇ*', which by default refers to the 'Hindi *Rāmāyaṇ*', i.e. the *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsidas. This is the one text with a truly universal currency throughout the H area; its dual attraction is its strong narrative line and its depiction of the characters in the story as ideal models for human life and behaviour. The text is widely used both for straightforward recitation, or as the basis of the *Rāmlīlā*, the enormously popular dramatic enactment of the Ram story performed by semi-professional troupes throughout the H-speaking area.

33 *kaithī*: the Kaithī script is a simpler version of Devanāgarī, without Devanāgarī's characteristic top line, used particularly in Bihar and also in U.P. Its main use is in accounts and record-keeping, and it is usually the special province of the Kayasth writer caste (which gives it its name).

33 *jāti ke julāhā*: 'by caste a Julaha'. Most North Indian members of this caste were converts to Islam. Most famous of all was the fifteenth century H poet Kabir.

34 *ḍyauṛhā*: 'half-as-much-again', the reckoning of interest at 50%.

34 *man-ser kī bikrī*: 'selling prices by the "maund" and "seer"'. A *ser* is just over two pounds, a *man* is forty *ser*. These traditional measures of weight have now been largely replaced by metric units (*kilo* etc.), though they live on in idiom just as the *ānā* does in expressions of currency.

35 *khol rakhī thī*: *khol rakhnā* means 'to set up', rather than simply 'to open', modal *rakhnā* adding a sense of 'establishing' to the main verb.

37 *maṭh*: a place where sadhus live, sometimes having a formal organisational structure under a *mahant* or 'abbot', but often (as here) a rather more informal institution.

38 *caupāī*, and 41 *dohā*: the prevalent metres of the *Rāmcaritmānas*, and early H literature generally. The *caupāī* is particularly well suited to prolonged recitation, being a quatrain with a regular rhythm and a strong rhyme; rhythmic and structural variation is provided by the *dohā* couplet (2).

39 *vandanā kā hissā*: that part of the text comprising verses of praise and dedication, rather than dealing with the narrative itself.

41 *barjabān*: (P; 843c) 'on the tongue', i.e. learned by heart and able to be recited. Cf. S *kaṇṭhasth* 'situated in the throat', with the same sense.

20
Rahul Sankrityayan: *Merī jīvan-yātrā* (1951)

Rahul Sankrityayan (1893–1963) was a prolific polymath, whose output of well over a hundred books covers biography, travelogue, literature, religion, history, politics and lexicography, in addition to an impressive amount of prose fiction: unsurprisingly, he is dubbed *mahāpaṇḍit*. He travelled widely; visits to communist countries converted his Congress socialism into fully-fledged communism in the late 1930s, and an extended stay in Ceylon led him to adopt the Buddhist faith in preference to the orthodox and Arya Samajist Hinduism to which he had adhered earlier.

Sankrityayan's autobiography, *Merī jīvan-yātrā*, fills five lengthy volumes. It is largely informally written, with vocabulary taken unselfconsciously from whichever register suits the subject-matter. Interest is sustained by a skilful weaving together of description and narrative, and although the casual admission 'I don't remember much about . . .' is a stock formula, the autobiography makes a fascinating and sensitive record of childhood in a village near Benares at the turn of the century. The reader is constantly reminded, as at the beginning of this passage, of the precariousness of life before the availability of modern medicine; and also of the great dynamism and complexity of tradition which underlies every aspect of a child's upbringing in Indian society.

The passage given here is from early in the first volume, and describes events of 1902, when the author was nine years old. Like most boys of his generation and social class, Rahul was given a broad educational grounding which included the study of Urdu as well as Sanskrit; this passage describes his tuition in Sanskrit at the hands of his uncle. The use of Sanskrit texts in the home is described alongside other details of domestic circumstances, and the first two paragraphs give a clear impression of the young boy's sense of reverential awe at his uncle's scholarly prowess: so great a pandit was he that he once went mad for a whole year with the weight of his learning. But Rahul was thrilled to be allowed to go with his uncle to enrol in his village *pāṭhśālā*, where teaching centred on the traditional study of Sanskrit grammatical texts. In the last two paragraphs Sankrityayan describes the school and recalls his desire to dedicate himself full-time to the study of Sanskrit, while noting the difficulties his uncle had in keeping students when the attractions of Benares were so close at hand.

The text is taken from *Merī jīvan-yātrā*, vol.I (Calcutta: Adhunik Pustak Bhavan, 1951), pp.20–21. Sankrityayan's fiction-writing is discussed briefly in Peter Gaeffke, *Hindi literature in the twentieth century* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978), pp. 53–54. The Benares life-style which proved so tempting to the *pāthśālā* students is vividly described in Nita Kumar, *The artisans of Banaras: popular culture and identity, 1880-1986* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

कनैलाके हैजेमें हमारे घरका कोई नहीं मरा था, यह कह आये हैं। बीमारीके वक्त शायद 'आजी' ने शतचंडी (सौ बार चंडी) का पाठ माना था। आजकल वही पाठ चल रहा था। पाठ बांचनेवाले थे हमारे फूफा पंडित महादेव पांडे और उनके मौसेरे भाई महावीर तिवारी। महावीर तिवारी एक-एक अक्षर टटोल-टटोलकर पढ़ रहे थे, किन्तु फूफा फरफर पढ़ते जाते थे। उनके पास नसदानी रखी हुई थी, बीच-बीचमें वे नस लेते जा रहे थे। शामको नससे भरी रूमाल साफ़ की जाती थी। सबेरे पाठ समाप्त कर गरम दूधमें भिगोया घरके खुशबूदार धानका चूरा नाश्तेके लिए तैयार रहता। शायद उसके बाद फिर पाठ चलता। पाठ संस्कृतमें होता - चंडीपाठका भाषामें अर्थ नहीं किया जाता। दोपहरको भोजन, फिर विश्राम। शामको ३-४ बजे फूफा साहेब घरमें बुलाये जाते। फ़र्शपर एक ओर वह बैठते, और सामने बैठतीं मेरी मां, शायद चाची भी (उन्हें मैं काकी कहा करता), मेरी कोई बुआ, कुटुम्बकी भी शायद दो-तीन चाची-बुआ। दामादके स्वागतमें ऐसे गोष्ठी रखनेकी प्रथा है, इससे उसका मनोरंजन होता है। वार्त्तालापका विषय घरबारका हाल-चाल और कुछ हँसी-मजाक। फूफासे मैं बहुत जल्द हिल-मिल गया और एकाध बार उनकी इस गोष्ठीमें भी शामिल हुआ। सावन का पानी बरस चुका था, और कनैलाके ताल-तलैयों, तथा डबरों (पल्वलों) में पानी भरकर बह गया था। शामको फूफा साहेब दूर पूरब तरफ़ चले जाते, और वहीं शौच-स्नान करके लौटते।

फूफा महादेव पंडितके बारेमें मैंने कितनी ही बातें सुनी थीं। वह बहुत भारी पंडित हैं - इतने भारी, जितने कि आसपास दस-बीस कोस में कोई नहीं। बहुत विद्या पढ़ जानेके कारण ही वह एक बार साल भर पागल रहे। उस वक्त तो मुझे विश्वास होता था, जैसे बहुत खानेसे भोजनका अजीर्ण होता है, उसी तरह बहुत पढ़ जाने से विद्याका अजीर्ण होता है, किन्तु यह संस्कृत पढ़नेवालोंको ही। शतचंडी पाठ समाप्त होनेमें शायद एक मास लगा। उसके बाद जब फूफा अपने गांव बछवल जाने लगे, तो मुझे भी लेते गये। शायद घरवालोंसे उन्होंने संस्कृत पढ़ानेकी स्वीकृति भी ले ली थी। कनैलासे बछवल ३ मीलसे अधिक दूर नहीं है। मैं फूफाके साथ उनकी घोड़ीपर चढ़ा। रास्तेमें मँगई नदी में काफ़ी पानी था। मुझे कन्धेपर चढ़ाकर पार किया गया।...

फूफा महादेव पंडित संस्कृत व्याकरणके प्रौढ़ विद्वान् थे। उन्होंने महाभाष्यान्त व्याकरण पढ़ा था, और पढ़े ग्रंथ बहुत कंठस्थ थे। उनके पास काफ़ी खेत और अन्न-धन था, अतएव उनके लिये अपनी विद्याका और कोई उपयोग आवश्यक न था। वे वहीं अपने द्वारपर विद्यार्थियोंको संस्कृत पढ़ाया करते। ज्यादातर विद्यार्थी सारस्वत चद्रिका, मुहूर्तचिन्तामणिके होते थे, किन्तु कितने ही सिद्धान्तकौमुदी भी पढ़ते थे। फूफा जी आसपासके गांवोंसे विद्यार्थियोंको "मुठिया" अन्न मिलनेका प्रबंध भी करा देते थे, किन्तु जहाँ आधी चौथाई सिद्धान्तकौमुदी समाप्त हुई, कि विद्यार्थी बनारस दौड़ जाते। बनारसका नजदीक रहना महादेव पंडितकी पाठशालाकी उन्नतिमें भारी बाधा थी।

सप्ताह बीतते-बीतते फूफा ने मुझे भी सारस्वत पढ़ाना शुरू कर दिया "नत्वा सरस्वतीं देवीं" और आगेका पन्ना भी मैंने कंठस्थ कर डाला। स्मरणशक्ति मेरी बहुत तीव्र थी, फूफा चाहते थे कि मैं संस्कृत पढ़ूं। मैं सोचता हूँ — काश! मैं फूफाके यहां पढ़नेको छोड़ दिया जाता। संस्कृत खूब पढ़ता। ग्रंथ सारे कंठस्थ होते, क्योंकि अभी यह धारणा मुझे नहीं हुई थी, कि रटना बुरी चीज है।

1 *kanaileke*: in this passage, ppn. are regularly attached directly to nouns as well as pronouns, though hereafter are shown separately in the notes. Kanaila is in the Ajamgarh district of U.P., to the North-East of Benares.

1 *yah kah āye haiṅ*: 'this we (= 'I') have already said'.

2 *ājī*: the nickname for Sankrityayan's *dādī* (paternal grandmother). Other relations referred to in the passage are 3 *phūphā* 'husband of paternal aunt'; 3 *mauserā bhāī* 'maternal aunt's son'; 10 *cācī/kākī* 'paternal uncle's wife'; 11 *buā* 'father's sister'; 11 *dāmād* 'son-in-law, bridegroom'; and cf. 11 *do-tīn cācī-buā* 'a few miscellaneous aunts'.

2 *śatcaṇḍī . . . kā pāṭh mānā thā*: 'had sanctioned a recitation of the *Śatcaṇḍī*' — a S text eulogizing the goddess Candi (Durga), here recited as a protection against the cholera epidemic. A *pāṭh* often extends over several days or weeks (cf. 21 *ek mās lagā*), with a succession of readers.

4 *ṭaṭol-ṭaṭolkar paṛh rahe the*: 'was groping his way along the text': the emphasis of the repeated verb stem is further underlined by use of the continuous tense, here in contrast with the modal imperfective of *phūphā pharphar paṛh jāte the*, 'Uncle would race through it'.

5 *bīc-bīc meṅ ve nas lete jā rahe the*: 'from time to time he was taking snuff': *lete jā* stresses the repetitiveness of the action.

5 *nas se bharī rūmāl*: not as unpleasant as it sounds, since a *rūmāl* (823e) is not used for actually blowing the nose!

6 *ghar ke khuśbūdār dhān kā cūrā*: 'fragrant home-grown rice-flour'. *dhān* 'rice in the husk' is distinguished from *cāval* 'husked rice' and *bhāt* 'cooked rice'.

8 *caṇḍīpāṭh kā bhāṣā meṅ arth nahīṅ kiyā jātā*: 'the *Caṇḍī* recitation was not translated into the vernacular'; the ritual function of the *pāṭh* depends upon the untranslatable power of the S verses themselves.

9 *ghar meṅ*: 'into the [private inner part of] the house'.

11 *dāmād ke svāgat meṅ aisī goṣṭhī rakhne kī prathā hai*: 'it is the custom to arrange such a session to welcome a bridegroom' — implying that the *pāṭh*, though seriously undertaken, has a relaxed and festive mood.

12 *vārttālāp kā viṣay . . .*: ellipsis of the verb generalizes the context, no tense being stated.

12 *hāl-cāl*: 'condition and manner', i.e. 'how things were going'.

14 *sāvan kā pānī*: 'the [monsoon] rain of the month Savan' (July–August).

14 *tāl-talaiyoṅ, tathā ḍabroṅ (palvaloṅ) meṅ*: *talaiyā* is a diminutive of *tāl* 'pond'; S *palval* glosses HU *ḍabrā* 'pool, puddle'.

16 *śauc-snān*: lit. 'purification by evacuation, and washing', a euphemism similar to 'ablutions' (though more concerned with ritual purity).

17 *kitnī hī bāteṅ*: the sense is rhetorical, 'so many things'; cf. 30 *kitne hī* 'many [people]'.

18 *itne bhārī, jitne ki āspās das-bīs kos meṅ koī nahīṅ*: 'so prodigious that there was no-one like him for many a league around'.

18 *bahut vidyā paṛh jāne ke kāraṇ hī*: 'simply as a result of wading through so much learning'.

21 *saṇskṛt paṛhnevāloṅ ko hī*: 'only in the case of S scholars'.

22 *bachval jāne lage*: 'set out for Bachwal' — *phūphā*'s village.

22 *mujhe bhī lete gae*: 'went taking me with him', i.e. 'took me along'.

24 *maṅgaī nadī*: 'the river Mangai'; in such a *tatpuruṣa* compound (625b), the specific name precedes the class noun: cf. *hindī bhāṣā* etc.

26 *mahābhāṣyānt*: the *Mahābhāṣya* is the '*Great Commentary*' of Patanjali (second century B.C.) on the grammatical exegesis of Panini (fourth century B.C.); suff. *ant* (622), here in sandhi (611), means 'the whole of, the entire work'.

27 *kaṇṭhasth*: learning by heart is the time-honoured method by which the continuance of Hindu textual tradition is maintained.

27 *ann-dhan*: 'grain and wealth', i.e. general prosperity (524).

28 *apnī vidyā kā aur koī upyog āvaśyak na thā*: 'no other utilization of his knowledge was necessary', i.e. he was not dependent upon the usual ceremonial functions of the pandit for a regular income.

28 *apne dvār par*: 'at his house' (lit. 'doorway').

29 *sārasvatacandrikā, muhūrtacintāmaṇi*: the titles of S texts.

30 *siddhāntakaumudī*: a seventeenth century exegesis of Paninian grammar.

31 *muṭhiyā*: apparently a variety of grain, though (as the inverted commas suggest) this is not a widely known term.

31 *jahāṅ ādhī cauthāī siddhāntakaumudī samāpt huī, ki vidyārthī banāras daur jāte*: 'no sooner had a half or quarter of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* been completed than all the students would run off to Benares'. The cj. *ki* stands in correlation to *jahāṅ* 'at the point (that)'.

33 *banāras kā najdīk rahnā... bhārī bādhā thī*: as the subject is nominal m. *rahnā*, verbal agreement with the predicate f. *bādhā* is irregular.

34 *saptāh*: a S synonym for its P cognate *haftā*, '7 days, week'.

34 *nattvā sarasvatīṃ devīṃ*: a S dedicatory invocation to Sarasvati, goddess of learning, of the kind typically found at the beginning of a Hindu text.

35 *āge kā pannā bhī maiṅne kaṇṭhasth kar ḍālā*: modal *ḍālnā* gives the throw-away sense of an impulsive action — 'for good measure I learnt the next page by heart too'.

35 *smaraṇśakti merī*: the inversion implies the sense 'As for my memory'.

36 *phūphā cāhte the ki maiṅ saṇskṛt paṛhūṅ*: i.e. full-time, or formally.

21
Harivanshray Bachchan: *Kyā bhūlūṅ kyā yād karūṅ* (1969)

Harivanshray Bachchan (b. 1907) is one of the most popular Hindi poets of the present century. Accessibility is his hallmark, and he has earned an unrivalled reputation as a forceful reciter of verse in public performance. His writing is largely free of the wholesale Sanskritization which characterizes the verse of his contemporaries and forebears who wrote in the *Chāyāvād* style. Among his most popular compositions is his *Madhuśālā*, which borrows from Persian and Urdu poetry the traditional images of wine-cup and wine-bearer (his fondness for this theme led him to be dubbed a *hālāvādī* or 'wine-poet'); in this borrowing, and in his success as a *muśā'irā* performer, he represents that wing of Hindi literature lying closest to its Urdu cousin. Bachchan studied in Cambridge, writing a PhD thesis on the poet W.B. Yeats, and the impress of English is often to be seen in his syntax and choice of vocabulary.

The passage is taken from his autobiography, first published in 1969. The book shows Bachchan to have an eye for the close observation of domestic detail, and is particularly interesting in the way it shows the various cultural influences impinging on the education of a young man growing up in the early years of the twentieth century. Bachchan allows himself a free reign in incorporating digressions into the chronology of his autobiography, which is also laced with excerpts from his own poetry and that of others.

Amongst those described here are his maternal aunt Surasati and his maternal grandmother. No formal schooling was provided for the female members of the household: the first paragraph describes his grandmother's state of literacy, sufficient for her to read traditional devotional texts but insufficient for the task of written communication (which would hardly have been expected of her in any case). Bachchan's own mother, we are told, was hardly more successful in her attempts at mastering the Nagari script; but by sitting in on her brother's sessions with the Maulvi, she was able to acquire the rudiments of Urdu as well as Hindi — a relatively rare achievement.

These memories remind Bachchan of his own education, and in the second paragraph he describes the process by which he endured the task of learning to write Urdu by overwriting in ink his mother's etchings of the characters on a chalked board; in typical free-ranging style, Bachchan also extends the account to describe the way in which his own son, the film star and politician Amitabh, was taught the rudiments of literacy.

The passage is from *Kyā bhūlūn kyā yād karūn*, 5th ed., (Delhi: Rajpal, 1973), pp. 54–55. Bachchan's poetry is discussed in Peter Gaeffke, *Hindi literature in the twentieth century* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978), chapter IX.

सुरसती को केवल हिन्दी की शिक्षा दी गई थी, घर पर ही, संभवतः उनकी माता के द्वारा। मेरी नानी हिंदी पढ़-लिख लेती थीं। रामायण वे नित्य पढ़ती थीं, अपनी दैनिक पूजा में; वेंकटेश्वर प्रेस का छपा सूरसागर भी दो जिल्दों में उनके पास था, पर उसके भजन वे यदा-कदा ही पढ़ती थीं। गद्य में उनके पास सुखसागर की पोथी थी और संभवतः प्रेमसागर की भी जिसे वे कभी-कभी दिन में अपनी पड़ोसिनों के बीच बैठ बाँचा करती थीं। लिखाई उनकी बहुत अच्छी नहीं थी। एक सीधी लकीर पहले खींच देतीं और उसी में अक्षर और मात्राओं को लटका देतीं। संयुक्ताक्षर उनके बस का नहीं था, ह्रस्व की जगह दीर्घ और दीर्घ की जगह ह्रस्व लगा देना उनके लिए मामूली बात थी। और किसी को उनका लिखा पढ़ने में कठिनाई हो, पर मेरी माता जी उसे बिलकुल ठीक पढ़ लेती थीं। ये सब कमज़ोरियाँ मेरी माँ की लिखावट में भी थीं। माँ से बेटी में उन्नति का क्रम सिर्फ़ इतना चला था कि बेटी पहले सीधी लकीर नहीं खींचती थीं, एक-एक अक्षर लिखकर उसपर लकीर लगाती थीं, पर एक शब्द को दूसरे शब्द से अलग करने की बात उन्हें न सूझती थी। नतीजा यह हुआ है कि उनके हाथ की लिखी भजन, लोकगीत, ग़ज़लों की एक पूरी कापी मेरे पास रक्खी है और मैं उसे बहुत प्रयत्न करने पर भी नहीं पढ़ पाता। उनकी स्मृति बड़ी अच्छी थी और उन्हें सैकड़ों गीत-भजन याद थे जिन्हें वे समय-समय पर गाती थीं और बाद को उन्होंने एक कापी में लिख डाले थे।

उर्दू की वे वर्णमाला भर जानती थीं - अलिफ़ से लेकर दो चश्मी हे तक, जिसे वे बड़ी ख़ूबसूरती के साथ लिख भी सकती थीं। जब उनके छोटे भाई विंध्येश्वरी प्रसाद को पढ़ाने को मौलवी साहब रक्खे गए तो वे भी उनके पास जाकर बैठ जातीं और इस प्रकार उन्होंने उर्दू की वर्णमाला पहचान ली थी और अवश्य ही उसके लिखने का अभ्यास किया था। मुझे उर्दू अक्षरों की शिक्षा पहले-पहल अपनी माँ से ही मिली थी। आज भी मुझे अपने छुटपन के दिन याद हैं कि मेरी माँ किन्हीं काम-धंधों में लगी हैं और मैं चटाई पर बैठ उनके द्वारा तख़्ती पर चँगीटे उर्दू के अक्षरों पर स्याही फेर रहा हूँ। जब मैं सब अक्षरों पर स्याही फेर लेता तब उनको दिखलाता ; वे तख़्ती पर पानी छिड़क, खड़िया पोत, फिर से तख़्ती तैयार करतीं और जब वह अध-सूखी हो जाती तब सूखे क़लम से उर्दू की पूरी वर्णमाला उसपर चँगीट देतीं और फिर मैं उसपर स्याहीदार क़लम चलाता। वह क्रम दिन में कई बार चलता। बाद को मेरी माँ बतातीं कि वे तख़्ती धोते, सुखाते, चँगीटते ऊब जातीं, पर मैं न ऊबता। इस प्रक्रिया में ज़्यादा काम तो उन्हीं को करना पड़ता था। जब सब कुछ हो जाता, मैं खचीनों पर स्याही भर फेर देता। मां को बार-बार परेशान करने में मुझे कुछ मज़ा भी आता होगा, इसकी कल्पना मैं आज कर सकता हूँ। अमित जब पढ़ने योग्य हुआ तब तख़्ती का रिवाज़ तो ख़त्म हो गया था, पर तेज़ पेंसिल से अक्षर काग़ज़ पर लिख देतीं और उससे कहतीं इनपर स्याही फेरो, और वह उल्टे-सीधे उनपर क़लम चला फिर आ पहुँचता, "और लिको !"। बच्चे में बदले की भावना बड़ी प्रबल होती है। आप उससे कुछ काम लें तो वह भी आपसे कुछ अधिक काम लेकर ही संतुष्ट होता है। जब कभी मेरा मन लिखने में न लगता, मैं खेलना-कूदना चाहता तो क़लम की नोक को किसी तरह दबाकर तोड़ देता। नरकुल या किलिक को तेज़ चाकू से काटकर क़लम बनाना माँ को नहीं आता था, यह काम तो पिता जी ही दफ़्तर से लौटने पर कर सकते थे; और मुझे दिन भर की छुट्टी हो जाती। बच्चा चालाक भी कम नहीं होता।

Bachchan's prose style is casual, often reflecting the syntactic patterns of speech rather than the more complex arrangement of written Hindi. His vocabulary register is mixed, as appropriate to the various domestic and didactic situations described.

2 *rāmāyaṇ ve nitya paṛhtī thīṅ*: placing the object (*rāmāyaṇ*) at the beginning of the sentence distinguishes this book from any other she might have read — 'The *Rāmāyaṇ* she would read every day'; cf. 5 *likhāī unkī* 'as for her writing'. *apnī dainik pūjā meṅ* is tacked on to the sentence as an afterthought. The *Rāmāyaṇ* referred to is the sixteenth-century H text of Tulsidas.

3 *veṅkaṭeśvar pres kā chapā sūrsāgar*: 'the *Sūrsāgar* printed by the Venkateshwar Press'. This pre-modifying construction (541) is based on genitive *kā*; cf. 13 *unke hāth kī likhī . . . kāpī*. The Venkateshwar Press, located in Bombay, was one of the first printers-cum-publishers to bring out popular editions of the Hindi religious classics such as the *Sūrsāgar*, an anthology of verses by the sixteenth century devotional poet Surdas.

3 *yadā kadā*: a S borrowing calqued on *kabhī kabhī*.

4 *sukhsāgar*: a popular rendering in modern H prose of the S *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, constantly being reprinted in cheap bazaar editions.

4 *pothī*: 'volume'; narrower in sense than its etymon *pustak*, *pothī* tends to designate a bazaar-printed edition of a traditional text.

4 *premsāgar*: Lallu Lal's H prose version of the Krishna story from the S *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, first published at Fort William College in 1810.

7 *saṅyuktākṣar*: *saṅyukta* 'conjunct' + *akṣar* 'character' in sandhi (611).

8 *unkā likhā*: 'her writing', ptc. *likhā* being used nominally here.

9 *bilkul ṭhīk paṛh letī thīṅ*: *lenā* here gives a sense of 'to manage (quite well) to'.

10 *unnati kā kram*: 'the march of progress', the deliberately high register of the H being tongue-in-cheek.

12 *unke hāth kī likhī*: agreement is with f. *kāpī*.

13 *lokgīt*: a well-established calque from E 'folk song'.

13 *rakkhī*: this form with historical *-kkh-* (< S *-kṣ-*) is commonly retained in speech, but less so in writing. (521b)

14 *smṛti*: this unusual use of the word to mean 'power of recall' reflects the breadth of meaning in the E word 'memory', of which it is a calque; *smṛti* normally has the more restricted sense 'recollection, remembrance'.

15 *likh ḍāle the*: 'wrote out, transcribed'.

16 *varṇamālā bhar*: 'the alphabet and nothing more'.

16 *do caśmī he tak*: *he* is not actually the last character in the U alphabet — the author is perhaps thinking of the Nagari syllabary.

17 *xūbsūrtī ke sāth*: this usage of the ppn. *ke sāth* (lit. 'in company with') in place of *se* is not uncommon in the modern language, and may reflect the breadth of ablative usage familiar from E 'with'.

18 *rakkhe gae*: 'was taken on, appointed'.

18 *aur is prakār . . . aur avaśya hī*: the linking of successive clauses by *aur* is characteristic of the casual style of composition in this passage.

21 *kām-dhandhoṅ*: 'household tasks' (524).

21 *lagī haiṅ*: the historic present of this and *pher rahā hūṅ* subsequently gives way to the more common usage of ptc. without auxiliary (22 *pher letā . . . dikhlātā*).

21 *caṭāī par baiṭh*: this use of the unextended abs. is common in narrative prose, especially when several actions occur in sequence; cf. 23 *pānī chiṛak, khaṛiyā pot*, 31 *qalam calā*.

25 *syāhīdār qalam*: 'inked pen' (823b).

26 *ve . . . ūb jātīṅ, par maiṅ na ūbtā*: following a negative a simple verb is preferred to a modal verb.

28 *iskī kalpanā . . .*: this picks up the reference of the preceding clause in the paratactic fashion typical of HU syntax (54).

29 Amit: the author's son Amitabh, possibly the best-known face in India from the late 1970s when he gained an enormous following as a Hindi film star before beginning a less successful career in Congress politics.

29 *paṛhne yogya*: note two distinct senses of this expression, according to context: of a book, 'worth reading'; or of a child (as here), 'capable of reading'; cf. U *ke qābil*.

31 *phir ā pahuṅctā, 'aur liko!'*: 'would again come up [saying] "write some more!"'. De-aspiration of a consonant, as in *lik-* for *likh-*, is characteristic of the speech of children (and foreign speakers of Hindi).

32 *āpse kuch adhik kām lekar hī santuṣṭ hotā hai*: 'is only content when he's got rather more effort out of you [than you got out of him]'.

36 *baccā cālāk bhī kam nahīṅ hotā*: H prefers a s. noun to express a gnomic observation, whereas E prefers a p.: 'Children aren't short on cunning'.

22
Kausar Niazi:
Urdū zabān kī ahammiyat (1972)

Although officially fostered as the national language of Pakistan, Urdu is spoken as a mother tongue by less than 10% of its citizens: so while some of this passage's contents have been outdated by subsequent political changes, most of its themes are still very much live issues, notably its picture of the implicit rivalry between Urdu and the English of the elite on the one hand, or between Urdu and local languages like Sindhi on the other.

Born in Mianwali (1934), one of the remoter western districts of the Panjab, and consequently speaking Siraiki as his native language, Maulana Kausar Niazi first became known as a powerful preacher (*xatīb*) in Urdu, which is almost universally used for sermons in Pakistan. The reputation thus established drew him to the notice of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (d. 1979), the wealthy Sindhi landlord who, as leader of the People's Party of Pakistan (P.P.P.), dominated Pakistani politics during the years following the secession of Bangladesh in 1971. The heady enthusiasm of the early days of the Bhutto period is reflected in the tone of this passage, taken from the conclusion of an address delivered on the occasion of the centennial celebrations of Oriental College in Lahore, at a time when Kausar Niazi was Minister of Information and Bhutto had yet to exchange the presidency of the country for its premiership.

The first paragraph begins by referring to a preceding translation of a speech made in English by Jinnah in 1948, in which he assured the inhabitants of East Pakistan that Bengali would be given equal status with Urdu. Bhutto's recently announced formula for the solution of the language-problems of the surviving western half of Pakistan is then described, with passing reference to the fierce Sindhi-Urdu language-riots that had prompted it. The second paragraph pays fulsome tribute to the way in which Bhutto had followed the example of Jinnah in deliberately abandoning English in favour of Urdu for his public speeches. The address concludes with a resounding cry for national unity under the new leader.

The style has the oratorical ring to be expected from one of Pakistan's most celebrated public speakers: although included in a collection of articles, the author himself describes this essay as really being more of a speech. The copious use of Perso-Arabic neologisms so characteristic of the formal Urdu learnt by most Pakistanis not at home, but at school and in college, is here put to excellent rhetorical effect: and the concluding sentences of both paragraphs are particularly effective.

The text is taken from '*Barr-e saǧīr kī islāmī saqāfat meṅ urdū zabān kī ahammiyat*', included in the published collection *Andāz-e bayān* (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1975), pp. 182–3.

Some of the issues raised are examined from a different perspective in C. Shackle, 'Language, dialect, and local identity in nothern Pakistan', in W.P. Zingel, ed., *Pakistan in its Fourth Decade* (Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut, 1983), pp. 175–187.

قائدِ اعظم نے جو کچھ ارشاد فرمایا اس پر ان کے بعد آنے والوں نے عمل نہیں کیا ۔ اور اس کا نتیجہ ہم سب نے دیکھ لیا ہے ۔ ان کے بعد جو بیس برس تک زبان کے مسئلہ پر لوگ جھگڑے کھڑے کرتے رہے ۔ اب قائدِ عوام جناب ذوالفقار علی بھٹو کی رہنمائی میں عوامی حکومت نے فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ پاکستان کی سرکاری زبان اور اس کے ساتھ ہی تمام صوبوں کی سرکاری اور رابطے کی زبان اردو ہوگی ۔ یہ بھی واضح کر دیا گیا ہے کہ قائدِ اعظم کے فرمان کی روشنی میں ہر انتظامی یونٹ اپنی صوبائی زبان کا تعین کرنے میں آزاد ہے ۔ وہ علاقائی ادب و ثقافت کو نشو و نما دینے کا بھی کامل اختیار رکھتا ہے۔ قومی اور صوبائی زبانیں ایک ساتھ قدم بقدم آگے بڑھیں گی ۔ مگر اس طرح کہ نہ اردو کی مرکزی حیثیت مجروح ہوگی ، اور نہ علاقائی زبانوں کے حقوق پامال ہوں گے ۔ اس فیصلے پر کچھ وقت تو ہنگامہ آرائی ہوئی ۔ یار لوگ برس ہا برس کے تعصبات کی وجہ سے کھُل کھیلے ۔ سندھی اور اردو کے نام پر بھائی نے بھائی کا خون بہایا ۔ حالانکہ یہ زبانیں ہی نہیں ، ہر زبان نفرت کی نہیں محبت کی پیغام بر ہوتی ہے ۔ خدا کا شکر ہے کہ اب آنکھوں سے تعصب کی پٹی کھُل چکی ہے ۔ سالوں سے ملتوی زبان کا مسئلہ حل ہو چکا ہے ۔ اور پاکستانی قوم لسانی اور ثقافتی لحاظ سے اپنی منزل کا تعین کرنے کے بعد پوری ہوش مندی سے سرگرمِ سفر ہے ۔

آپ جانتے ہیں کہ پیپلز پارٹی نے انتخابی مہم کے دوران جس زبان کو اپنایا وہ اردو زبان تھی ۔ صدرِ پاکستان نے ملک کے ہر حصے میں اردو زبان کو ہی اپنے خیالات کے اظہار کا ذریعہ بنایا ۔ اور ان کی اہم تقاریر سب کی سب اسی زبان میں ہوتی رہیں ۔ بلکہ آپ کو یاد ہوگا کہ جس روز انہوں نے ٹوٹے ہوئے جہاز کی ناخدائی قبول کرکے پاکستان کی ازسرِنو تعمیر کے عزم کا اظہار کیا تھا ، تو اپنی پہلی تقریر میں اس چیز پر بڑے تأسف کا اظہار کیا تھا وہ اردو کے بجائے انگریزی میں تقریر کر رہے ہیں ۔ اور اس کی ضرورت بھی واضح کر دی تھی ۔ صدارت کی ذمہ داریاں سنبھالنے کے بعد انہوں نے جتنی عوامی تقاریر کی ہیں ، وہ سب اردو ہی میں ہیں ۔ آپ کو یہ بھی معلوم ہے کہ قائدِ اعظم کی مادری زبان گجراتی تھی ، اور انہوں نے تمام عمر کام انگریزی زبان میں کیا ۔ لیکن جب وہ تحریکِ پاکستان کے لئے اٹھے تو انہوں نے اردو زبان سیکھنا اور اس میں تقریر کرنا شروع کر دیا تھا ۔ اصل میں جتنا بڑا کوئی رہنما ہوتا ہے اتنا زیادہ وہ اپنی قوم کے جذبات اور احساسات کو سمجھتا ہے ۔ اور ان جذبات اور احساسات کے مطابق اپنے کو ڈھالنے کی کوشش کرتا ہے ۔ ہمارا فرض یہ ہے کہ ہم صدر جناب ذوالفقار علی بھٹو کی قائم کی ہوئی روشنی میں اپنے عمل کا تعین کریں ، تاکہ ہماری قوم اور ہمارا ملک بھی ترقی کرے اور ان کے سہارے انفرادی زندگی بھی کامیاب اور بامراد ہو ۔

پاکستان پائندہ باد !

1 *qāid-e a'zam*: lit. 'The Great Leader', the title by which Jinnah is usually referred to in Pakistan, where the usual E spelling is 'Quaid-e Azam'.

1 *iršād farmāyā*: 'directed'. A doubly honorific phrase-verb, composed of A *iršād* 'direction, guidance', and the P-derived verb *farmānā* 'to order, to command' which is frequently used as an honorific replacement for *kahnā* or *karnā* in formal U in imitation of the corresponding P *farmūdan*.

1 *un ke ba'd āne-vāloṅ ne*: 'those who came after him', a typical use of the inf. ptc. where E would use a relative clause.

2 *bīs baras tak*: i.e. until 1968, the year which marked the collapse of the authoritarian regime of Ayub Khan, which had tried to enforce the use of U at the expense of the local languages.

3 *qāid-e 'avām janāb zulfīqār 'alī bhuṭṭo*: Bhutto assumed the title of 'The People's Leader' as part of his attempt to represent himself as the natural successor to the Quaid-e Azam. While A *janāb* has long been used in P and U as a polite term of address, e.g. *janāb-e man* 'my dear sir', its modern use before names appears to be an imitation of E 'Mr.', like the H use of S *śrī*.

4 *'avāmī hukūmat*: i.e. the 'people's government' of Bhutto's P.P.P.

5 *tamām sūboṅ kī*: 'of all the provinces'. The four provinces of Pakistan and their principal local languages are: Panjab (Panjabi), Sind (Sindhi), N.W.F.P. (Pashto), and Baluchistan (Baluchi).

5 *rābite kī zabān*: 'link language', to be used for communication with central government and between the provinces.

5 *ye bhī vāzih kar diyā gayā hai*: 'it has also been declared'. The E impersonal passive is often thus imitated in contemporary HU.

6 *intizāmī yūniṭ*: 'organizational unit', combining a modern coinage of A origin (but calqued on E) with a straight E loan.

7 *'ilāqāī*: 'local', another calque from E common in Pakistani U.

7 *kāmil ixtiyār rakhtā hai*: 'has complete authority'. While HU have of course no direct equivalent of E 'to have', *rakhnā* is increasingly employed to fill the gap in such phrasal loans.

8 *qadam ba-qadam*: a P prepn. phrase (843).

10 *hangāmâ-ārāī*: 'unrest', a P-type compound (823) of *hangāmâ* 'riot, disturbance' with the pres. stem *ārā-* 'arranging'.

10 *baras-hā baras*: 'years and years', incorporating the P p. *-hā* (831b).

10 *khul khelnā*: lit. 'to play openly', but with the usual idiomatic sense of 'to come out into the open (with something nasty)'.

10 *sindhī aur urdū*: the reference is to the language-riots which had just occurred in Karachi and other parts of Sind between the Sindhi-speaking 'sons of the soil', and the U-speaking immigrants — known as *muhājir* 'refugees' — who have since 1947–48 formed a substantial but only partially assimilated minority in Sind.

11 *hālāṅki ye zabāneṅ hī nahīṅ*: 'although these are not just languages', i.e. they are really symbols of ethnicity.

12 *paiğām-bar*: 'message-bearer', vs. the parallel *paiğam-bar* 'Prophet'.

13 *sāloṅ se multavī zabān kā masalâ*: an example of the fondness for long pre-modifiers in formal U (541).

13 *lisānī aur saqāfatī lihāz se*: 'linguistically and culturally'. When used as a ppn. after a noun *ke lihāz se* has the sense of 'in respect of', but after an adj. *lihāz se* in modern U is hardly more than an adv. marker, like E '-ly'.

14 *sar-garm-e safar*: 'actively embarked on its journey', an izafat phrase (841) used to round off the paragraph with suitable grandiloquence.

15 *intixābī muhim*: 'election campaign', a straight calque from E.

16 *sadr-e pākistān*: 'the President of Pakistan', a standard izafat phrase.

18 *ṭūṭe hue jahāz kī nāxudāī*: 'the captaincy of the broken vessel', a reference to the breakaway of Bangladesh. P *nāxudā* 'ship's captain' is a very high-flown word in U, where terms of E or other European origin continue to designate commissioned officers (**9**).

18 *az sar-e nau*: a P prepn. phrase (843).

19 *'avāmī taqārīr*: 'speeches to the people'.

22 Jinnah was born into the Khoja Ismaili community, the followers of the Agha Khan. Formerly concentrated in Gujarat, many Ismailis still have Gujarati or Kacchī ('Cutchi'), a Sindhi dialect strongly influenced by Gujarati, as their home language. The unstated parallel with the equally Anglicized Bhutto and his Sindhi background would be obvious to the audience.

22 *kām angrezī zabān meṅ kiyā*: an exact reproduction of 'worked in E'.

23 *tahrīk-e pākistān*: 'the Pakistan Movement', another calque from E.

23 The immense biographical literature devoted to Jinnah records many affectionate anecdotes about his difficulties in mastering U quite late in life, e.g. his humble acceptance of his driver's correction of his Anglicized pronunciation of *t* as *ṭ*.

26 *sadr . . . bhuṭṭo kī qāim kī huī raušnī meṅ*: another example of the sort of long pre-modifier favoured in formal U, cf. 13 above.

27 *hamārī qaum aur hamārā mulk bhī*: 'both our nation and our country'. Since *qaum* has the double connotation of 'nation, people' and 'religious community', it is often difficult to decide on the most suitable E rendering: the fusion of the two ideas is, however, of course very much a part of the contemporary South Asian context.

29 *pākistān pāindâ bād*: 'may Pakistan endure!', a P phrase (834) from the Pakistan national anthem, frequently invoked on public occasions.

23
Ramvilas Sharma:
Nirālā kī sāhitya sādhanā (1972)

The poet Suryakant Tripathi 'Nirala' (1899–1961) is perhaps the most respected and original Hindi poet of the present century. He belonged to a quartet of poets (the other three being Mahadevi Varma, Jayashankar Prasad and Sumitranandan Pant) whose work constituted the 'reflectionist' style of poetry called *Chāyāvād*; but as his pen-name 'The odd one' implies, Nirala was an individualist not containable by any single school or style. Although his family was from U.P., he was born and raised in Bengal, and his early literary career began in Calcutta. Nirala was much influenced by Tagore, whose receipt of the Nobel prize in 1913 had such a positive impact on Indian writers well beyond the borders of Bengal.

The work of Nirala has attracted a large critical literature in Hindi, of which Ramvilas Sharma's two-volume study is probably the most comprehensive; its title, which equates literary creation with spiritual endeavour, is an indication both of the sentiments underlying much of Nirala's poetry and the reverence it inspires in its critics. The passage given here is taken from a chapter entitled *Bhāṣā aur rāṣṭra*, and deals with the 'national language' debate in which Nirala, as an eloquent but catholic champion of Hindi, was necessarily engaged.

The main argument in this passage centres on the ideal nature of a *rāṣṭrabhāṣā* — is it necessary for such a language to have a rich literature? In an argument diametrically opposed to that of M.P. Dwivedi (**12**), Nirala maintains that literary use of a language is distinct from its function as a means of spoken communication; and he goes on to defend the literature of Hindi against its critics who compare it unfavourably with that of other Indian languages. Nirala accepts the claims of Bengali to have a superior corpus of modern literature, but is critical of Tagore, Gandhi and others who are less than generous towards the heritage of Hindi and its future role. He suggests that Hindi writers have not been given the prominence they deserve (a point he was to make forcefully to political leaders such as Gandhi and Nehru elsewhere), and looks forward to a time when this situation will be amended.

The highly Sanskritized register of most literary criticism is tempered here by the inclusion of verbatim and indirect quotations from the arguments of the various camps. The citations from Nirala's various journal articles show some influence of his Bengali background; and his almost legendary outspokenness is apparent in his brusque criticisms of those whose views on the language question oppose his own.

The text is taken from *Nirālā kī sāhitya sādhanā*, vol. 2, (Delhi: Rajkamal Prakashan, 1972), pp. 65–66. Nirala's life and poetry is discussed *passim* in Karine Schomer, *Mahadevi Varma and the Chhayavad age of Hindi poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); and in the succinct 'Afterword' in David Rubin, trans., *A season on the earth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 123–144.

हिन्दी के विरोध में सबसे बड़ा तर्क यह था कि वह एक पिछड़ी हुई भाषा है, साहित्यिक समृद्धि में अन्य भाषाएँ उससे आगे बढ़ी हुई हैं, तब उसे राष्ट्रभाषा के पद पर क्यों बिठाया जाए । इस तर्क का आधार यह मिथ्या कल्पना थी कि राष्ट्रभाषा का व्यवहार मुख्यतः साहित्य के पठन-पाठन के लिए होगा । निराला का कहना था कि साहित्य का प्रश्न राष्ट्रभाषा से जुड़ा हुआ है, फिर भी दोनों एक नहीं हैं। "साहित्य और भाषा का प्रश्न बहुत कुछ होते हुए भी बहुत कुछ अलग भी है ।" कसौटी यह होनी चाहिए कि राष्ट्रभाषा सरल, सुबोध हो, "सबसे अधिक बोली तथा समझी जाती हो ।"

भरतपुर हिंदी साहित्य सम्मेलन में रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर ने कहा कि हिंदी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाना हो तो साहित्य की श्रीवृद्धि करो । हिंदी प्रान्तों में ही अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े-लिखे लोग हिंदी की उपेक्षा करते हुए पूछते थे - हिंदी में है क्या ? उत्तर भारत में मद्रास से शिक्षित युवकों का एक दल यात्रा करने आया । उसमें एक युवक ने कहा कि हिंदी में ऊंचे साहित्य का अभाव है । इन्दौर साहित्य सम्मेलन में बँगला की समृद्धि के मुकाबले हिंदी की दरिद्रता का उल्लेख महात्मा गांधी ने किया ।

हिंदी साहित्य की दरिद्रता के इस निरंतर उल्लेख से निराला का क्षुब्ध होना स्वाभाविक था । यह उल्लेख अप्रासंगिक था क्योंकि राष्ट्रभाषा का उपयोग मूलतः विभिन्न प्रदेशों की जनता के बीच संपर्क भाषा के रूप में होना था । अंग्रेज़ी को न हटा पाने पर अपनी असफलता पर पर्दा डालने के लिए यह एक अच्छा बहाना था । विश्वज्ञान प्राप्त करने के लिए अंग्रेज़ी को राजभाषा और शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाए रहना चाहिए - यह निष्कर्ष भी हिंदी की दरिद्रता से अपने आप निकलता था । निराला ने बड़े धैर्य से और अनेक बार इस तर्क का उत्तर दिया ।

"विचित्रा" वाले बँगला लेख के प्रसंग में उन्होंने लिखा, "भारतवर्ष के लिए एक साधारण और चलित भाषा का निर्वाचन करते समय यह देखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि भारत की प्रधान भाषाओं में साहित्यिक उत्कर्ष किसका बड़ा है । इस विषय में हिंदी किसी प्रान्तीय भाषा से पीछे नहीं है । यद्यपि हम मानते हैं कि बँगला साहित्य कई दृष्टियों से औरों की अपेक्षा उत्कृष्ट है, परंतु प्राचीन हिंदी साहित्य का मुकाबला बँगला नहीं कर सकती । ब्रजभाषा का प्रभाव वैष्णव कवियों पर काफ़ी पड़ा है । बँगला में एक रवीन्द्रनाथ हैं, हिंदी में तुलसीदास, सूर, कबीर तीन हैं।" . . .

वैसे तो भारत के हर प्रदेश पर अंग्रेज़ी भाषा का रोब-दाब था, किंतु अन्य प्रदेशों के अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े-लिखे लोग जहाँ अपने साहित्य से परिचित थे, उस पर गर्व करते थे, वहाँ हिंदी प्रदेश के अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े-लिखे लोग हिंदी भाषा और साहित्य को उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखते थे, हिंदी के प्रति अपने अज्ञान पर उनके मन में ज़रा भी ग्लानि न थी । बँगला, मराठी आदि भाषाओं के साहित्य को विद्वानों ने समृद्ध किया "पर हमारे यहाँ के उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त विद्वान् हिंदी को देखकर नाक-भौं सिकोड़ते हैं । पिता-पुत्र में पत्र-लेखन का अंग्रेज़ी माध्यम है । यह साहित्यिक चरित्र के पतन की हद है । यहाँ विद्या नहीं, अविद्या का साम्राज्य है ।" "यहाँ के अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े लोग करते कुछ नहीं, सिर्फ लंबी-चौड़ी बातें करते हैं । अन्य प्रान्तवालों की तरह वे भी कहते हैं, हिंदी में है क्या ! "

1 *pichaṛī huī bhāṣā*: 'language which has fallen behind', the ext. ptc. being used as pre-modifier (541).

2 *anya bhāṣāeṅ*: the reference is mainly to Bengali, which was quick to develop a modern literature on the E model through its early contact with the British in Calcutta; and to U, which unlike H had an unbroken line of literary development since Mughal times.

6 *bahut kuch*: 'to a large extent'.

8 *ṭhākur*: the proper Indian spelling, so preferable to the commonplace H usage which transliterates E 'Tagore' as *ṭaigor*. The *-v-* of *ravīndranāth*, the name by which Tagore is usually known in Bengal, appears as *-b-* in Bengali, which has no *v* grapheme.

8 *hindī ko rāṣṭrabhāṣā banānā ho*: the impersonal sense of this inf. construction is best translated by a passive — 'if H is to be made the national language'.

9 *hindī prāntoṅ meṅ hī*: *hī* is here not restrictive ('only'), but emphatic: 'in the very H provinces themselves'.

10 *hindī meṅ hai kyā*?: 'What does H have?', i.e. 'Does H have anything?' — a rhetorical question achieved by transposition.

11 *yātrā karne āyā*: because the main context of travel in India has always been pilgrimage, a sense of religious or educational purpose tinges the word *yātrā* and gives it a more emotive sense than E 'journey, travel'.

12 *ullekh mahātmā gāṅdhī ne kiyā*: withholding the logical subject until late in the sentence gives it emphasis, equivalent to E usage with a passive verb — 'was alluded to by Mahatma Gandhi'.

15 *rāṣṭrabhāṣā kā upyog . . . sampark bhāṣā ke rūp meṅ honā thā*: a modest aim whose limitations would not be acceptable to all supporters of H.

18 *rājbhāṣā*: 'state language', i.e. the language of government and administration, as opposed to *rāṣṭrabhāṣā* 'National Language'.

18 *banāe rahnā cāhie*: 'should be maintained'; obl. ptc. *banāe* is invariable in this construction.

18 — *yah niṣkarṣ*: this picks up the postulate of the initial main clause in a typical paratactic construction.

19 *baṛe dhairya se aur anek bār*: 'with great patience and on numerous occasions': this linking of two adv. phrases with a cj. is for emphatic rhetorical effect, but is unusual in HU and perhaps reflects E usage.

21 *vicitrā*: the title of a Bengali periodical.

22 *calit bhāṣā*: the meaning of *calit* as 'current' is more common in Bengali than in H, which tends to maintain the S sense 'unsteady'.

22 *nirvācan karte samay*: 'while choosing': this ptc. construction with *samay*, lit. 'at the time of . .-ing', is especially common in the rhetoric of written and spoken debate.

23 *sāhityik utkarṣ kiskā baṛā hai*: 'the literary prosperity of which one is greatest', i.e. 'which one has the richest literature'.

26 *ek ravīndranāth haiṅ*: 'there is only Rabindranath'. This is a wild exaggeration, as Bengali has a considerable medieval literature as well as a uniquely developed nineteenth century literature (much of which is widely read in H translation also).

27 *tulsīdās, sūr, kabīr*: the traditional triumvirate of the H literary 'greats', covering respectively the main devotional schools of *rām bhakti, kṛṣṇa bhakti* and the *nirguṇ bhakti* of the Sant poets.

32 *ucc śikṣā prāpt vidvān*: 'highly educated scholars'.

33 *nāk-bhauṅ sikoṛte haiṅ*: lit. 'pucker their noses and eyebrows', i.e. 'turn up their noses'.

33 *aṅgrezī mādhyam hai*: the word order emphasizes 'English', as opposed to any other language possible in the context.

35 *aṅgrezī paṛhe log:* 'people who can read E', i.e. those literate in E — a contraction of the more usual 28 *aṅgrezī paṛhe-likhe log.*

35 *karte kuch nahīṅ, sirf lambī-cauṛī bāteṅ karte haiṅ*: the inversion of object and ptc. in the first clause is for emphasis — 'they don't actually *do* anything, they just speak fine words'.

24
Ainul Haq Faridkoti:
Urdū zabān kī qadīm tārīx (1972)

While the Hindi-Urdu controversy continues to be very much of a live issue in many parts of India, it is the question of the proper relationship to be established between Urdu and the local languages which dominates much of the discussion of language-issues in Pakistan. Pakistani intellectuals have attempted to resolve the apparent contradiction between the historic role of Urdu as the language of the Muslims belonging to areas now in India and its present status as their own national language.

The Delhi-centred assumptions underlying Abdul Haq's false theory that the 'Hindi' element in Urdu was Braj Bhāṣā ([10]) had long been criticized by Muslims from the Panjab, notably by Hafiz Mahmud Sherani, whose *Panjāb meṅ urdū* (1930) rightly pointed to the prominence of Panjabi elements in older Dakanī texts. The book from which this passage is taken, however, attempts in a much more extreme fashion to give Urdu an unambiguously Pakistani identity. As his name suggests, it was written by an author belonging to the Muslim minority of eastern Panjab, whose enforced migration in 1947 has produced many of the most fervent upholders of Pakistani nationalism: and, as the award to it of two prestigious literary prizes suggests, its ideas have found quite widespread acceptance in Pakistan.

The basic idea is that Urdu is not an Indo-Aryan language at all, but is to be assigned along with the local languages to the quite different Dravidian family, now restricted to South India, although with a genuine Pakistani outlier in the Brahui language of Baluchistan. In the usual fashion of such eccentric books, huge numbers of languages are culled for plausible parallel forms at second or third hand: but these can only be convincing to an audience more familiar with Arabic and Persian than with Sanskrit.

The first paragraph illustrates the book's central theme by referring to the liberating influence of the Muslim conquests upon the development of the local languages, which were thus freed from the 'Brahmanical conspiracy' which had so long held them in thrall. This is followed by a delightfully sustained attack on the consequences of the European discovery of Sanskrit in the nineteenth century, here alleged to have blinded scholars from seeing the 'true' affiliation of Urdu and the local languages of Pakistan.

With its preponderance of pompous Persian compounds, the style is at first sight typical of all too much Pakistani Urdu prose. A rather nice irony, however, underlies the endless calques from English: and the sensitive reader — whatever he or she may think of the actual content — will quickly realize that the most high-flown resources of Urdu (or those of Hindi) can easily be exploited to deliberately belittling effect.

The text is taken from *Urdū zabān kī qadīm tārīx*, 2nd edn. (Lahore: Oriental Research Centre, 1979), pp. 54–5.

If the rest of the present book has not demonstrated in the most conclusive fashion the widely misleading character of the ideas advanced in this passage, it will have failed utterly in its purpose.

مسلمانوں کی آمد کے وقت جب برّصغیر میں چھوٹے رجواڑے ختم ہو کر ایک متحدہ مرکزی حکومت کی بنیادیں استوار ہوگئیں تو قدیم ادبی زبان یعنی سنسکرت اپنے سرپرستوں سے محروم ہو جانے پر بطور ایک زندہ زبان کے ہمیشہ ہمیشہ کے لئے ختم ہو گئی۔ اس طرح عوامی زبانوں کو آگے بڑھنے اور پھلنے پھولنے کا موقع مل گیا۔ اب انہیں مذہبی اور ادبی تخلیقات کے لئے بھی استعمال کیا جانے لگا۔ برّصغیر کے شمالی حصے کی موجودہ زبانیں براہِ راست انہی عوامی زبانوں کے ارتقائی سلسلے کی کڑیاں ہیں۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ موجودہ زبانوں کے بعض صرفی و نحوی ترکیبوں کا کلاسیکی ادبی زبان میں کوئی سُراغ نہیں ملتا۔

جب اہلِ مغرب برّصغیر میں وارد ہوئے تو ان میں سے بعض متجسّس ذہنوں نے یہاں کی مقامی زبانوں کے مطالعے میں دلچسپی لینی شروع کر دی۔ یہ بات ان کے لئے ایک اچنبھے سے کم نہ تھی کہ ہندوؤں کی مذہبی زبان سنسکرت کے سرمایۂ الفاظ کا ایک بڑا حصّہ یورپی زبانوں سے گہری مماثلت رکھتا ہے۔ یورپ کے طول و عرض میں اس بات کا چرچا جنگل کی آگ کی طرح پھیل گیا۔ جگہ جگہ سنسکرت کے درس و تدریس کے لئے دار العلوم کھول دیئے گئے اور تمام بڑی بڑی درس گاہوں میں سنسکرت کے بارے میں تحقیقی مراکز قائم ہو گئے۔ اس سلسلے میں جرمنی سب سے پیش پیش تھا۔ ان تحقیقی مراکز کی بدولت یورپ اور ایشیا کی تاریخ، تہذیب و تمدّن اور زبانوں کے بارے میں معلومات کے ذخیرے میں ایک گراں قدر اضافہ ہوا۔

لیکن ساتھ ہی یہ بھی ہے کہ ان کے ذہنوں پر سنسکرت کا بھُوت کچھ اس حد تک سوار تھا کہ انہوں نے خالص تحقیقی کارناموں کے ساتھ ساتھ اپنے یک طرفہ مطالعے کی بنا پر بعض اوقات کئی ایک غیر متوازی نظریوں کو بھی جنم دیا جنہیں کہ ان کے بلند بانگ دعوؤں اور بلند آہنگ ناموں کی وجہ سے بے چون و چرا قبول کر لیا گیا۔

برّصغیر کے شمالی حصے کی جملہ زبانوں کے سنسکرت الاصل ہونے کا مسئلہ بھی ان غیر متوازی نظریات میں سے ایک ہے جو کہ ان زبانوں کے سرمایۂ الفاظ میں محض آریائی عنصر کی موجودگی کی بناء پر قائم کر دیا گیا تھا۔ شروع شروع میں اس کے خلاف چند کمزور سی آوازیں اُٹھیں لیکن وہ میکس مولر، ہارنلے، جاہن بیمز، جارج گریرسن اور ولیم جونز جیسے باون گزوں کے سامنے کارگر نہ ہو سکیں۔ یہ نام طلبارِ لسانیات کے ذہنوں پر کچھ اس طرح سے سایہ فگن رہے کہ قریبًا پچھلی ڈیڑھ صدی میں کسی میں یہ جرأت پیدا نہ ہوئی کہ وہ اس غلط نظریے کو چیلنج کر سکے۔

1 *rajvāṛe*: a derivative of *rājâ* suggesting 'petty Hindu states'. The normal U word used to describe a 'princely state' of British India is the A *riyāsat*, e.g. *riyāsat-e jammū o kašmīr*.

3 *ba-taur ek zindâ zabān ke*: 'as a living language', illustrating the survival of P-derived compound prepn. in U (844).

3 *hamešâ hamešâ ke liye*: 'for ever and ever'. This is an instance of straightforward convergence between U reduplication (542a) and E idiom.

4 *'avāmī zabāneṅ*: 'languages of the common people'.

4 *phalnā phūlnā*: 'to flourish', a very common jingle-compound (524) with the lit. sense 'to fruit and to blossom'.

4 *mazhabī aur adabī taxlīqāt*: 'religious and literary creations'. The reference is to the earliest collections of Muslim religious verse in the NIA languages, e.g. to the thirteenth century Baba Farid in Panjabi or to the fourteenth century Amir Khusrau in HU (though the attribution of surviving examples is very doubtful in both cases).

5 *ba-rāh-e rāst*: a P prepn. phrase (843).

6 *unhī*: vs. 5 *unheṅ*. The omission of the final *nūn ğunnâ* conveniently serves to distinguish the emphatic form, but is far from standard.

6 *irtiqāī silsile kī kaṛiyāṅ*: 'links in the evolutionary chain', whose status as a loan-translation from E is obvious.

7 *sarfī o nahvī*: 'grammatical', from PA *o nahv* 'grammar', a copular phrase combining *sarf* 'morphology' and *nahv* 'syntax'. The common E synonym *graimar* has no correspondingly convenient adj. in U. A book of grammar is normally referred to in U by the A loan *qavā'id*, lit. 'rules', at a humbler level by the corresponding s. *qā'idâ* 'primer'.

7 *tarkīb*: 'construction', an A loan also used in the sense of 'compound', to which the P *bandiš* more narrowly corresponds.

7 *kalāsikī*: 'classical', cf. *rūmānī* 'romantic'.

9 *ahl-e mağrib*: 'the Europeans', a specialized izafat phrase (841).

11 *acambhe*: 'surprise, wonder', perhaps deliberately chosen as a markedly 'H' word in preference to A *ta'ajjub* or *hairānī*.

11 *sarmāyâ-e alfāz*: 'word-stock, vocabulary', illustrating the common U use of izafat phrases to represent E compounds.

12 *yūrapī*: regular as an adj. in U, vs. the noun *yūrapiyan*.

13 *jangal kī āg kī tarâ*: 'like a forest fire', almost certainly a loan-translation from E.

13 *dars o tadrīs*: 'study and teaching', a copular phrase combining a simple A noun with a form II derivative (721): cf. the pair *'ilm* 'knowledge' and *ta'līm* 'education'.

13 *dārul-'ulūm*: 'university', an A loan (741) virtually equivalent to 16 *dars-gāh*, a PA compound (822).

15 *is silsile meṅ*: 'in this connexion', a very common phrase in modern U.

15 *sab se peš peš*: 'considerably in advance of them all'. P *peš* 'before' corresponds to both HU *āge* and *pahle*.

18 *lekin sāth hī ye bhī hai ki...*: 'but at the same time there is also the point that...'. Even the most deliberately high-flown HU styles have sooner or later to resort to such colloquial linkages.

18 *bhūt*: 'evil spirit', ironically evoking the idea of spirit-possession, present in at least the subconscious of nearly all HU-speakers.

19 *yak-tarfâ*: 'one-sided', an apparent PA compound (825) which is really a transparent calque from E.

21 *be-cūn o cirā*: a P prepn. phrase (843) with the lit. sense 'without how and why', i.e. 'without question'.

22 *sanskritul-asl*: 'Sanskrit in origin', an expression demonstrating the live use in U of an A phrasal pattern (741) to incorporate a non-A element.

24 *āryāī*: 'Aryan', a modern coinage.

25 Max Müller was one of the great German Indo-Europeanists of the nineteenth century whose work was inspired by Sir William Jones's earlier demonstration of the genetic connexion between S and Latin and Greek. Hoernle and John Beames were nineteenth century comparative grammarians of the NIA languages. Although their insights helped Sir George Grierson to formulate the majestic scheme of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, their now dated works are these days more frequently cited in South Asia than in Europe.

26 *bāvan-gaz*: lit. '52-yarder', i.e. 'giant', a charming example of a *dvigu*-compound incorporating a P loan.

28 *cailanj kar sake*: a surely deliberate choice of the E word, in preference to the synonymous A *muqābalâ*.

Hindi-English Glossary

This Glossary lists all the vocabulary items occurring in the H passages except those items with which readers of this book are assumed to be familiar, omitting also proper nouns and those words glossed adequately in the text.

The siglum 'S' in the left-hand column designates not only genuine S words but also the numerous neologisms coined from S roots and/or by analogy with existing S forms. This makes any attempt at computing the percentages of genuine S loans rather unreliable; but a glance at the glossary will give an accurate enough indication of the preponderance of S loans or coinages in modern H prose.

In addition to the usual conventions, the abbreviations *ho.* for *honā* and *ka.* for *karnā* have been used in the glossary.

अ

	अंड का बंड	adj. nonsensical
s	अन्तर	m. difference
s	अंध-	adj.pref. blind
s	अंश	m. part, element
s	अक्षर	m. character, letter
s	अक्षरज्ञान	m. knowledge of writing, literacy
s	अक्षरारंभ	m. initiation into literacy
	अगला	adj. next, former; m. elder, ancestor
s	अजीर्ण	m. indigestion
s	अज्ञात	adj. unknown
s	अज्ञान	m. ignorance
s	अत:	adv. so, therefore
s	अतएव	adv. so, therefore
s	(के) अतिरिक्त	ppn. besides, apart from
s	अत्यन्त	adv. extremely
s	अथवा	cj. or
s	अद्‌भुत	adj. fantastic, supernatural
s	अधिकार	m. right
	अधूरा	adj. incomplete
s	अध-	adj.pref. half-
s	अनंत	adj. endless, infinite
s	अनावश्यक	adj. unnecessary
s	अनुराग	m. love, fondness
s	(के) अनुरूप	ppn. in conformity with
s	अनुवाद	m. translation
s	अनुवादक	m. translator, interpreter
s	अनेक	adj. several, many
	अनोखा	adj. unique, extraordinary
s	अन्न-धन	m. 'grain and wealth', affluence
s	अन्य	adj. other; अन्यान्य adj. various
	अपढ़	adj. illiterate
s	अपरिचित	adj. unfamiliar, unrecognized

S	अपेक्षा	f. requirement; की अपेक्षा ppn. compared with
S	अप्रचलित	adj. non-current
S	अप्रासंगिक	adj. irrelevant, out of context
	अभागा	adj. unfortunate, unlucky
S	अभाव	m. dearth, lack
S	अभियोग	m. law case, suit, accusation
S	अभ्यास	m. practice, familiarity
A	अमला	m. official, court functionary
S	अमुक	adj. such and such, a certain one
S	अयथार्थ	adj. unreal, false
A	अलिफ़	m. first letter of the A alphabet
A	अरबी	f. Arabic
S	अवकाश	m. leisure
S	अवसर	m. occasion, chance, opportunity
S	अवहेलना	f. neglect
S	अविचार	m. folly, lack of discrimination
S	अविद्या	f. ignorance
S	अशुद्ध	adj. impure, corrupted
S	असंभव	adj. impossible
S	असफलता	f. failure, lack of success
A	असर	m. effect, influence

आ

	आँखें मिलाना	vt. to look at full in the face
S	आकाश	m. sky
S	आचार्य	m. (title for) teacher
S	आत्मकथा	f. autobiography
S	आत्महत्या	f. suicide
S	आत्मा	f. soul, spirit
A	आदत	f. habit
A-	आदाब करना	vt. to make a salutation
S	आदि	adv. etc., and other such
S	आधार	m. base, basis, foundation
S	आधिपत्य	m. supremacy
S	आधुनिक	m. modern
S	आपत्ति	f. objection
P	आमोख्ता	m. learned lesson
S	आर्य	adj. Aryan
P	आलू बुखारा	m. prune
S	आश्चर्य	m. surprise
	आसरा	m. shelter, refuge

इ

S	इच्छा	f. desire, wish
A	इज़हार	m. expression
S	इति	f. end
A	इबारत	f. expression, style of expression
A	इशारा	m. sign, signal, indication
A	इश्क	m. love

उ

	उगलना	vt. to disgorge
s	उच्च	adj. high
s	उच्चारण	m. pronunciation
s	उत्कर्ष	m. prosperity, excellence, eminence
s	उत्कृष्ट	adj. rich, excellent, eminent
s	उत्पत्ति	f. origin, production
s	उत्पन्न	adj. produced
s	उदाहरण	m. example
s	उन्नति	f. progress, development, sequence
s	उपकार	m. assistance, good, favour
s	उपदेश	m. lesson, teaching
s	उपयोग	m. use, application
s	उपार्जन	m. acquisition
s	उपासना	f. worship
s	उपेक्षा	f. disregard, neglect
	उलझना	vi. to become tangled, complicated
	उलटे-सीधे	adv. hurriedly, haphazardly
s	उल्लेख	m. mention, reference
P	उस्ताद	adj. cunning, skilful

ए

s	एकता	f. unity
E	एडिकांग	m. aide-de-camp, A.D.C.
s	एवम्	conj. and

ओ

	ओसारा	m. verandah

क

s	कंठ	m. throat; voice
s	कंठस्थ	adj. learned by heart
	कचहरी	f. court of law
s	कठिनता	f. difficulty
	कड़वा	adj. bitter, unpleasant
s	(के) कथनानुसार	ppn. according to, in accordance with the words of
s	कदाचित	adv. perhaps, possibly
s	कदापि	adv. ever
	करतब	m. feat, accomplishment
	कराहना	vi. to groan, moan
s	कर्त्ता	m. subject (in grammar)
	कल	f. machine
s	कली	f. bud
s	कलुषित	adj. sullied, tainted, made impure
s	कल्पना	f. imagination, assumption; कल्पना क॰ to imagine, to suppose
s	कष्ट	m. hardship, suffering
	कसैला	adj. astringent
	कसौटी	f. criterion, test

	काँटा	m. thorn
	कान रखना	vt. to lend an ear, to listen attentively
A	कायदा	m. rule, practice, custom
S	कार्य	m. work, job, task
S	कार्यक्रम	m. programme; progress
S	कार्यालय	m. office
P	काश	intj. if only, I wish that
S	काशी	m. Benares, Varanasi
S	किंतु	cj. but, moreover, however
P	किलिक	f. piece of reed, reed pen
	कीड़ा	m. insect, worm, bug
S	कुटुंब	m. family, household
	कुम्हार	m. potter
S	कृत	adj. composed by
S	कृति	f. work (of art or literature)
S	केलि	f. game, sport
	कैथी	f. a script similar to Nagari
A	कैफ़ियत	f. statement, description, account
	कोठरी	f. small room
S	कोष	m. dictionary
	कोस	m. a measure of distance, about 2 miles
S	कौतूहल	m. wonder, curiosity
S	क्रम	m. order, succession; pattern
S	क्रिया	f. verb; action
S	क्षुब्ध	adj. disquieted, disturbed
S	क्षेत्र	m. area

ख

	खचीना	m. line
	खटराग	m. discord, wrangling
	खटाई	f. sourness; **खटाई में पड़ना** vi. to be in dire straits
	खड़िया	f. chalk
PA	खराबी	f. defect, fault
	खिचड़ी	f. hotch-potch
A	खिताब	m. title
	खिलना	vi. to blossom
	खींचना	vt. to draw
P	खुदा	m. lord, master, God
P	खुशबूदार	adj. fragrant
PA	ख़ूबसूरती	f. beauty
	खेल कूद	m. fun and games
	खेलाड़ी	m. player

ग

	गंवारी	f. rusticity; provincial speech
S	गणित	f. mathematics
A	ग़ज़ल	f. ghazal, U romantic lyric in couplets
S	गतागत	m. coming and going

s	गद्य	m. prose
s	गर्व	m. pride
p-	गवहिया	m. witness
	गवाना	vt. to waste, to squander
	गिनना	vt. to count
	गिनाना	vt. to count, to enumerate, to list
	गूढ़	adj. obcure, abstruse
	गोटी	f. piece (in chess etc.)
s	गोष्ठी	f. meeting, assembly
s	ग्रंथ	m. book, literary composition
s	ग्रहण	m. taking, holding
s	ग्रामीण	adj. & m. rustic
s	ग्राम्यजन	mp. villagers, rustics
s	ग्लानि	f. remorse, repentance

घ

	घनघोर	adj. (intimidatingly) profound
s	घनिष्ठ	adj. close, intimate
	घरबार	m. household
	घराना	m. family, household, lineage
	घसीट	f. scribble, scrawl
	घसीटना	vt. to drag
	घाग	m. wily old man
	घुसेड़ना	vt. to cram in, to foist upon
	घोड़ी	f. mare

च

	चंगीटना	vt. to scratch, to inscribe
s	चंडी	f. the goddess Durga
s	चंचल	adj. restless, fidgety, playful
	चक्खना	vt. to taste
	चटाई	f. mat
s	चतुर	adj. clever, skilful, shrewd
p	चमन	m. garden
s	चरम	adj. ultimate, highest
s	चलित	adj. current
	चाटना	vt. to lick; चाट जाना vt. to polish off, to gobble up
	चारपाई	f. low wooden bedstead with string base
p	चालाक	adj. clever, cunning
	चाह	f. desire, love
	चिक्का	m. a game
s	चिंता	f. anxiety, concern
s	चित्त	m. mind; चित्त लगाना vt. to concentrate
p	चिराग	m. lamp
	चींटी	f. ant
p	चीन	m. China
p	चीनी	f. Chinese
	चूरा	m. flour, powder

s	चेष्टा	f. gesture, movement
	चौथाई	f. a quarter
	चौपाई	f. quatrain, four-lined verse

छ

	छांह	f. influence, effect, shadow
s	छाया	f. influence, effect, shadow
	छिड़कना	vt. to sprinkle
	छीनना	vt. to seize
	छुट	ppn. apart from, except
	छुटपन	m. childhood, boyhood
	छुरी	f. knife
A-	छोटा काफ	m. letter of A alphabet

ज

s	जन	m. person
s	-जनक	adj.suff. -producing
s	जनता	f. population, the people
s	जनसाधारण	mp. the common people, people at large
s	-जन्य	adj. born (of), produced (by)
	जपना	vt. to repeat (name of God etc.)
P	ज़बान	f. language, tongue
A-	जमा हो॰	vi. to be assembled, to gather
s	जल	m. water
A	जल्द	adv. quickly
A	जवार	m. neighbourhood
A	जाल	f. letter of A alphabet
A	जाहिर	adj. plain, obvious, apparent
A	जिल्द	f. binding; volume of a work
s	जिह्वा	f. tongue
	जी	m. life; heart
A	जीम	f. letter of A alphabet
	जुड़ना	vi. to be joined
	जुलाहा	m. Muslim caste of weavers
A	जे	f. letter of A alphabet
	जोड़ना	vt. to join
A	जोय	f. letter of A alphabet
s	ज्ञात	adj. known
s	ज्ञान	m. knowledge
	ज्यों का त्यों	adj. unchanged, intact, as before
s	ज्योतिष	f. astrology
PA	ज्वाद	f. letter of A alphabet

झ

झंडा	m. flag, banner
झपट	f. spring, leap
झाल	m. small cymbal
झुंझुलाना	vi. to fume, to get angry

	झुकाना	vt. to bend
	झूट	m. lie

ट

	टहोका	m. blow, slap
S	टिप्पणी	f. comment, criticism
	टुक	adv. a little, just

ठ

ठंढक	f. coolness
ठग	m. cheat, imposter, 'thug'
ठगना	vt. to cheat, swindle
ठिकाना	m. whereabouts; ठिकाने का adj. appropriate
ठोकर	f. stumble; ठोकर खाना vi. to stumble

ड

डबरा	m. pool, puddle
डांग	adj. gruff
डौल	m. form, appearance; डौल-डाल mp. circumstances
ड्योढ़ा	m. multiplying by one-and-a-half

ढ

ढकना	vi. to be covered
ढब	m. manner, way
ढोलक	m. barrel-shaped drum

त

P	तख्तपोश	m. low wooden seat with a cloth covering
P	तख्ती	f. child's writing board
P	तगमा	m. medal
S	तत्काल	adv. immediately
S	तत्सम	adj. & m. (word) of unchanged form
S	तथा	cj. and
S	तदर्थ	adv. with that object, for that end
S	तद्वत्	adv. similarly, likewise
	तनिक	adj. a little, slight
A	तरीका	m. way, method
S	तर्क	m. argument, reasoning
	तलैया	f. pool
	ताड़ना	vt. to guess, to perceive
S	तात्त्विक	adj. fundamental, essential
	ताल	m. pond
P	तास	m. brocade, cloth of gold
	तीया	adj. multiplied by three
S	तीर्थ	m. place of pilgrimage, sacred site
S	तीव्र	adj. sharp, strong

P	तुरकी	f. Turkish
S	तुल्य	adj. like, equivalent
P	तेज़ी	f. speed, swiftness

थ

	थुथाना	vt. to pout, to make a wry face

द

S	दंड	m. punishment
S	दरिद्रता	f. poverty
S	दर्पण	m. mirror
S	दल	m. party, group
A	दलील	f. argument, plea
S	दशा	f. condition, circumstance
P	दस्ताना	m. glove
P	दस्तावेज	m. document, deed
	दाता	m. benefactor, giver, God
S	दान	m. gift, offering
P	दामाद	m. son-in-law, bridegroom
A	दावा	m. claim
	दिन निकलना	vi. daylight to emerge
S	दीर्घ	adj. long
P	दुजायगी	f. difference, antipathy
S	दुराशा	f. vain hope
S	दुविधा	f. dilemma, uncertainty
	दुहराना	vt. to repeat
S	दूरत्व	m. remoteness, distance
S	दृक्पात	m. glance
S	दृष्टि	f. view, viewpoint
	(की) देखा-देखी	ppn. in imitation of, in emulation of
S	दैनिक	adv. daily
PA	दोचश्मी हे	m. letter of U alphabet
	दोहा	m. couplet
S	द्वार	m. door

ध

	धंधा	m. work, job, profession
	धंसाना	vt. to thrust, to force upon
	धड़ाके से	adv. rapidly, nineteen-to-the-dozen
	धान	m. rice on the stem
S	धारणा	f. concept, notion
S	धैर्य	m. patience, fortitude
	धोका	m. deceipt

न

A	नक़ाब	f. veil
S	नतमस्तक	adj. respectful, having head bowed
A	नतीजा	m. result, consequence

	नरकुल	m. reed
S	नवीनागत	adj. newly arrived; m. newcomer
	नस	f. snuff
P-	नसदानी	f. snuff-box
	नाक रगड़ना	vt. to rub the nose on the ground, to beseech
S	नागरिक	m. citizen
S	नायिका	f. heroine
S	नि:सीम	adj. endless
	निछावर	f. offering, sacrifice
S	नित्य	adv. always, daily, constantly
	निदान	adv. consequently, in the end
S	नियम	m. rule
S	निरंकुशता	f. despotism, waywardness
S	निरंतर	adj. incessant
	निराला	adj. strange, peculiar, novel
S	निर्जीव	adj. lifeless, inanimate
S	निर्णय	m. decision, judgement
S	निर्दोष	adj. faultless, free of error
S	निर्बल	adj. weak
S	निर्मल	adj. unsullied, spotless, pure
S	निर्वाचन	m. selection
S	निर्वाचित	adj. elected, selected
	निवासी	m. inhabitant, resident
S	निवेदन	m. submission, request
S	निश्चित	adj. definite, certain
S	निष्कर्ष	m. inference, conclusion
S	नीति	f. policy
P	नोक	f. point, tip
A-	नौबाब	m. title of Muslim governor, Nawab, 'Nabob'

प

	पंखड़ी	f. petal
	पंचमेल	adj. mixed, conglomerate
S	पक्ष	m. side, party
S	पक्षपाती	f. partisan, advocate
	पछाड़ना	vt. to overcome, to knock down
S	पठन-पाठन	m. studying and teaching
	पढ़ा-लिखा	adj. educated, literate
S	पतन	m. downfall
S	पत्र-लेखन	m. letter-writing
S	पद	m. position, job, status
S	पदार्थ	m. object, article, substance
S	पद्य	m. verse, poetry
S	पद्यमय	adj. in poetic form, in verse
S	पद्यात्मक	adj. in poetic form, in verse
	पन्ना	m. page
S	परंपरा	f. tradition
S	परकीय	adj. different, other, alien

s	परकीया	f. poetic heroine who is another man's wife
	परबत	m. mountain, hill
	परवाह	f. care, concern
s	परस्पर	adj. mutual, reciprocal
	पराया	adj. someone else's, alien
s	परिचित	adj. acquainted, familiar
s	परित्याग	m. abandonment
s	परिमित	adj. limited; परिमित रखना vt. to limit
s	परिवर्तन	m. change, alteration
s	पर्य्यन्त	ppn. up to, until
s	पर्वत	m. mountain, hill
	पल्वल	m. pool, puddle
s	पशु	m. animal, beast
s	पश्चिमोत्तर	adj. north-western
	पहाड़ा	m. multiplication table
	पहेली	f. riddle; पहेली बूझना vt. to talk in riddles, to pose riddles
s	पाठ	m. reading or recitation of text
s	पाठशाला	f. school
P	पारसी	f. Persian
s	पारिभाषिक	adj. technical
	पिछड़ना	vi. to lag behind
	पीठ	f. back
	पुट	m. admixture, touch
	पुतला	m. puppet, doll
s	पुनः	adv. again
E	पुलीस	f. police
	पूरब	m. East
s	पूर्ति	f. fulfilling, completion
s	पृथक्	adj. separate, distinct
s	पृथ्वी	f. earth
P	पैमाइश	f. measuring, surveying
	पोतना	vt. to smear
	पोथी	f. book, volume
s	प्रचरित	adj. practised, used
s	प्रसन्न	adj. pleased, delighted
s	प्राचीन	adj. ancient
s-	प्रकट क•	vt. to show, to make visible, to express
s	प्रकृति	f. nature
s	प्रक्रिया	f. process, technique
	प्रगट	adj. manifest, obvious; प्रगट क• vt. to express
s	प्रगति	f. progress
s	प्रचरित	adj. current
s	प्रचार	m. currency, prevalence, propagation
s	प्रणाली	f. method, system
s	प्रतिकूल	adj. opposed, contrary
s	प्रतिभा	f. genius, talent
s	प्रतिलिपि	f. copy, transcript
s	प्रत्युत	cj. but, rather
s	प्रत्येक	adj. each, every

s	प्रथम	adv. firstly, at first
s	प्रथा	f. practice, custom
s	प्रदान	m. giving, delivering
s	प्रधान	adj. chief, pre-eminent; m. president, counsellor
s	प्रबंध	m. essay, composition; arrangement
s	प्रबल	adj. strong, powerful
s	प्रभा	f. brilliance, radiance
s	प्रभाव	m. influence, impact
s	प्रयत्न	m. effort, attempt
s	प्रवृत्ति	f. tendency, disposition
s	प्रसंग	m. context
s	प्रसन्नता	f. pleasure, delight
s	प्राकृतिक	adj. natural
s	प्राचीन	adj. ancient
s	प्रादेशिक	adj. regional
s	प्रान्त	m. province
s	प्रान्तिक	adj. provincial
s	प्रान्तीय	adj. provincial
s-	प्राप्त क॰	vt. to obtain
s	प्रौढ़	adj. mature

फ

A	फजल	m. grace, kindness
	फरफर	adv. swiftly
A	फर्ज	m. duty, obligation
	फली	f. pod
	फांस	f. snare, trap
	फिराना	vt. to make rove about
	फूफा	m. husband of paternal aunt
	फूलना	vi. to blossom (with joy)
	फेरना	vt. to pass over, to draw over

ब

	बकना	vi. to gabble, to prattle
	बखाना	vt. to praise
	बखेड़ा	m. mess, complication, imbroglio
A-	बड़ा काफ	m. letter of A alphabet
A-	बड़ी जे	f. letter of A alphabet
	बढ़-बोला	m. exaggerator, tall-talker
	बत्ती	f. lamp, light, wick
A	बदन	m. body, frame
A	बदला	m. revenge
P	बरजबान	adj. learned by heart
	बरस	m. year
	बरसना	vi. to rain
P	बराबर	adv. constantly, always; adj. even, level, equal
	बस का हो॰	vi. to be within one's capacity
P	बहादुर	m. champion

	बहाना	m. excuse
	बहुतेरा	adj. much, many, numerous
	बांचना	vt. to read
s	बाधक	m. obstacle, hindrance
	बारंबार	adv. time and again, repeatedly
	बासन	m. pot, vessel
s	बिंदी	f. dot
s	बिंदु	m. drop
	बिकरी	f. sale, selling
	बिचारा	adj. poor, helpless
	बिटौना	m. little son, lad
	बिठाना	vt. to make sit, to position, to place
A	बिसमिल्लाह	intj. in the name of God
s	बुद्धिमता	f. intelligence, prudence
s	बुद्धिमान	adj. wise, intelligent
	बुराई	f. harm, fault
P	बेगम	f. title for lady
	बेधड़क	adv. unhesitatingly, boldly, brazenly
s	बोधगम्यता	f. comprehensibility
	बोलचाल	f. conversation
	ब्याह	m. marriage

भ

s	भजन	m. hymn, devotional song
	भरमार	f. abundance
	भला	adj. good, noble
s	भांति	f. way, manner, kind
	भाखा	f. (vernacular) language
	भाना	vi. to be pleasing, agreeable
s	भार	m. burden
	भारी	adj. great, momentous, prodigious
s	भाव	m. idea, sense, sentiment
s	भिक्षुक	m. beggar
	भिगोना	vt. to soak
s	भिन्न	adj. different, distinct
s	भिन्नता	f. distinction, dissimilarity
	भूक	f. hunger
s	भेद	m. difference, differentiation; secret, essential identity
s	भोजन	m. food, meal
	भोला	adj. innocent, simple-minded
	भौं	f. eyebrow
s	भ्रम	m. confusion, misunderstanding

म

A	मंजूर	adj. approved, sanctioned
s	मंत्री	m. secretary, minister
	मकतब	m. school
s	मठ	m. residence of sadhus, 'monastery'

s	मतभेद	m. difference of opinion, dissension
	मन	m. 'maund', measure of weight equal to 20 seer
s	मनभावनी	adj. charming
	मनमाना	adj. according to one's wish, wanton, wilful
s	मनोरंजक	adj. interesting, entertaining
s	मनोरंजन	m. entertainment
s	मयी	adj.suff. full of, characterized by
s	मर्म्म	m. vital part, essence
s	मात्र	adv. only, merely, alone
s	मात्रा	f. vowel-sign in Nagari script
s	माध्यम	m. medium
s	मान	m. respect, prestige, value
s	मानदंड	m. criterion, standard
s	मार्ग	m. road, path
	माल	m. goods, property
s	मासिक	adj. monthly
	मिट्टी	f. earth, clay
	मिट्ठू	m. sweet-talker, parrot
s	मिथ्या	adj. false
P	मियां	m. honorific title for (Muslim) gentleman
s	मिश्रण	m. mixture, combination
A-	मुकाबला क•	vt. to compete
A-	(के) मुकाबले	ppn. in comparison with
s	मुख्यत:	adv. principally
	मुठिया	m. a variety of grain
	मुड़कट्टी	f. a kind of fast accounting script
A-	(के) मुताबिक	ppn. according to
PA	मुबारकबाद	m. congratulation, felicitation
A	मुसीबत	f. difficulty, calamity, misfortune
A	मुहावरा	m. idiom, expression
s	मूल	m. origin, root, source
s	मूलत:	adv. basically
E	मेम	f. title for European ladies, ma'am
E	मेमबर	m. member
	मेल	m. mixture, combination, unity, coming together
P	मोजा	m. sock, stocking
A	मौजूद	adj. present
s	मौन	m. silence
A	मौलवी	m. Muslim cleric, teacher
A	मौलाना	m. Arabic scholar
s	मौलिक	adj. fundamental, original
	मौसेरा भाई	m. cousin (son of maternal aunt)

य

s	यथासाध्य	adv. as far as practical, to the greatest possible extent
s	यदा-कदा	adv. occasionally, sometimes
s	योग्यता	f. ability, competence

र

A	रईस	m. aristocrat, nobleman
	रगड़ना	vt. to rub
S	रचना	f. composition, artistic creation
	रचना	vt. to create, to compose, to form
	रटना	vt. to repeat, to learn by rote
	राई	f. mustard seed, tiny particle
S	राजभक्ति	f. loyalty to the country or state, patriotism
S	राजभाषा	f. state language
S	रामायणपाठ	m. reading of the Ramayan
A	राय	f. opinion, view
S	राष्ट्रीय	adj. national
S	राष्ट्रीयता	f. nationalism
E	रिपोर्ट	f. report
S	रीति	f. way, manner
S	रूप	m. form, manner, beauty
P	रूमाल	f. handkerchief
	रेत	f. sand
	रोंगटा	m. small hair of the body
	रोक	f. restriction, ban, hindrance
	रोब-दाब	m. predominance, overbearing influence

ल

	लकीर	f. line
	लगा	adv., pp. from, beginning with
A	लज्जत	f. pleasure, savour
	लटकाना	vt. to suspend
	लड़कपन	m. childhood, boyhood
	लदना	vi. to be loaded, laden
	लपट	m. blaze, heat
	लबड़-धौंधौं	f. clamour and confusion, row
A	लाजिम	adj. essential, obligatory
	लिखाई	f. writing
S	लिपि	f. script
A	लुगात	mp. (often used as s.) dictionaries
S	लेख	m. writing, article, essay
S	लेखनी	f. pen
S	लोक-गीत	m. folksong
	लोट-पोट	adj. convulsed with laughter
	लोप क•	vt. to eliminate

व

S	वंदना	f. worship, praise; prayer
A	वकील	m. lawyer
S	वक्तव्य	m. statement
S	वरंच	cj. but rather
	वरन	cj. but, on the contrary
S	वर्णन	m. description

s	वर्णमाला	f. syllabary
s-	वशीभूत क•	vt. to bring under control, to dominate
s	वस्त्र	m. clothing
s	वांछनीय	adj. desirable
	वा	adv. or
E	वाइसराय	m. viceroy
s	वाक्य	m. sentence, utterance
s	वाक्य-रचना	f. sentence structure, syntax
s	वाक्य-विन्यास	m. sentence structure, syntax
s	वाग्देवी	f. goddess of speech, Sarasvati
s	वाचक	m. speaker
s	वार्तालाप	f. conversation
s-	वास्तव में	adv. in fact, actually
s	वास्तविक	adj. real, actual
s	विकार	m. change, deviation, perversion
s	विकास	m. development, growth
s	विज्ञापन	m. publicity
s	विज्ञापित	adj. notified, publicised
s	विदित	adj. known
s	विद्या	f. learning, science, discipline
s	विद्वान	m. scholar
s	विनीत	adj. humble
s	विभक्ति	f. word-ending, termination
s	विभिन्न	adj. various
s	(के) विरुद्ध	ppn. against, contrary to
s	विरोध	m. antagonism, hostility, opposition
s	विलक्षण	adj. remarkable, peculiar
s	विलक्षणता	f. peculiarity
s	विवेचन	m. evaluation, argument
s	विशिष्ट	adj. particular, specific
s	विशुद्ध	adj. completely pure, unadulterated
s-	विशेष करके	adv. particularly
s	विश्राम	m. rest, relaxation
s	विश्वज्ञान	m. knowledge of the world
s	विषय	m. subject
s	वृद्धि	f. growth, increase
s-	व्यक्त क•	vt. to express
s	व्यक्तिगत	adj. individual, personal
s	व्यर्थ	adv. in vain, uselessly
s	व्यवहार	m. usage, application
s	व्याकरण	m. grammar

श

P	शतरंज	f. chess
s	शब्द-ग्रहण	m. choice or selection of vocabulary
P	शरिस्तेदार	m. record-keeper, clerk of court
s	शाखा	f. branch
s	शान्त	adj. peaceful, pacified

A-	शामिल हो•	vi. to be included, to participate
S	शिक्षण	m. teaching, instruction
S	शिक्षा	f. education
S	शिक्षित	adj. educated
S	शिष्य	m. disciple, student
S	शीघ्र	adv. quickly, promptly
P	शीरनी	f. offering of sweatmeats
S	शैली	f. style
S	शौच	m. ablution
S	श्रीयुत	m. honorific title, 'excellency'
S	श्रीवृद्धि	f. enhancement of prosperity

स

S	संक्षेप	m. brevity, abridgement
S	संख्या	f. number
S	संतुष्ट	adj. content, satisfied
S	संध्या	f. evening
S	संपर्क	m. contact, link
S	संभवतः	adv. possibly, perhaps
S	संयत	adj. controlled, restrained
S	संयुक्त	adj. joint
S	संयुक्ताक्षर	m. conjunct character
S	संयोग	m. combination, union
	सकत	f. power
S	सजीव	adj. living, lively
S	सत्यानाश	m. total ruin, devastation
S	सदस्य	m. member
S	सन्मुख	adj. opposite, face to face
S	सप्ताह	m. week
A	सबक	m. lesson
S	सभा	f. assembly, association, society
S	सभ्य	adj. civilized
S	समर्थ	adj. capable, competent
S	समर्थक	m. supporter
S	समर्थन	m. support
S	समस्त	adj. all, entire, whole
S	समस्त-पद	m. compound word
S	समानता	f. similarity, equality
S	समिति	f. committee
S	समृद्ध	adj. prosperous
S	समृद्धि	f. richness
S	सम्बन्ध	m. connection
S	सम्बन्ध-कारक	m. genitive case
S	सम्मिलित	adj. united
S	सम्मेलन	m. assembly, association, conference
P	सर	m. head
	सराहना	vt. to praise
S	सर्व-सामान्य	adj. common, general
PA	सलामी	f. salute, gun-salute

s	सहज	adj. easy, simple, natural
s	सहमत	adj. agreed, in agreement
s	सहायता	f. assistance
	साँस	f. breath; sigh
s	साक्षी	m. witness
s	साक्ष्य	m. evidence, testimony
s	साधना	f. practice, spiritual endeavour
s	साधारण	adj. ordinary
s	सामान्य	adj. ordinary, general, common
A	सामी	adj. Semitic
s	सामीप्य	m. proximity
s	साम्राज्य	m. empire
s	सार्वदेशिक	adj. universal
	सावन	m. the month Shravan (July-August)
s	साहित्य	m. literature
s	साहित्यिक	adj. literary
	सिकोड़ना	vt. to pucker
s	सिद्धान्त	m. principle
s	सिद्धि	f. accomplishment, success
	(के) सिवा	ppn. apart from
s	सीमा	f. limit, boundary, extent
	सुखाना	vt. to dry
	सुध	f. memory, awareness
P	सुपुर्द क॰	vt. to entrust, to put into the charge of
s	सुबोध	adj. intelligible
	सुरत	f. memory, reflection
	सूखा	adj. dry
s	सूचक	m. indication
	सूझना	vi. to occur to the mind, to be perceived
s	सूर्य्योदय	m. sunrise
s	सृष्टि	f. creation
P-	सेपहर	m. afternoon, 'third watch'
	सेर	m. 'seer', 2 lbs.
s	सेवा	f. service
	सो	pr. he, she, it
s	स्थल	m. place, site
s	स्नान	m. bathing, purification, ablution
s	स्पष्ट	adj. clear
s	स्मरणशक्ति	f. power of memory
s	स्मृति	f. memory
P	स्याही	f. ink
s	स्वकीया	f. poetic heroine who is faithful to her own husband
s	स्वतंत्र	adj. independent
s	स्वरूप	m. form, character
s	स्वर्गवासी	adj. 'residing in heaven', the late, deceased
s	स्वागत	m. welcome
s	स्वाभाविक	adj. natural
s	स्वीकार	m. acceptance
s	स्वीकृति	f. acceptance

ह

P	हजारहा	mp. thousands
	हटना	vi. to withdraw, to move away
	हटाना	vt. to remove, to eradicate, to dispel
A	हद	f. limit, extent
S	हर्ष	m. joy
	हाथ मिलाना	vt. to shake hands
S	हानि	m. harm, loss, damage
A-	हाल में	adv. recently
A-	हाल-चाल	m. state of affairs, condition
	हाव-भाव	mp. gestures and blandishments
P	हिन्द	m. India
S	हिल-मिलना	vi. to get to know, to become familiar with
	हिलाना	vt. to shake, to move
A	हुकुम	m. order, command
A	हैजा	m. cholera
	होठ	m. lip
S	ह्रस्व	adj. short

Urdu–English Glossary

This glossary lists all the words and compounds which occur in the U passages other than the simple vocabulary which should be known to users of the book, proper nouns and adjectives, and those words whose unique occurrence is thought to have been adequately glossed in the notes to the relevant passage.

Although artificially skewed by these criteria, the etymological distribution of the 778 head-words included here reflects quite accurately the preponderant influence of PA vocabulary, especially of A itself, upon U prose of all types. This may be seen from the following word-counts and percentages under each of the assigned etymological source-languages:

A	417 (54%)	HU	105 (13%)
P	186 (24%)	S	13 (2%)
PA	51 (6%)	E	6 (1%)

These figures are, of course, to be regarded with the same caution as that indicated for the numerous 'S' items in the preceding Hindi-English glossary, i.e. many items marked as 'A' may be Persianisms transferred to U, while others marked as 'A' and 'P' are intrinsic U coinages from these historic loan-languages.

The glossary is arranged in U alphabetical order, with the necessary addition of the transcription of all head-words, and the provision of the s. forms of all A p. nouns. Abbreviations follow the usual conventions with the following additions in the citation of phrase-verbs:

d. *denā*
h. *honā*
k. *karnā*
r. *rakhnā*

آ

P	آزادی	*āzādī* f. freedom, emancipation
P	آستین	*āstīn* f. sleeve
	آگے بڑھنا	*āge baṛhnā* vi. to advance
	آگے پیچھے	*āge pīche* adv. one after another
A	آلہ	*ālâ* m. tool, instrument
PA	آلۂ کار	*ālâ-e kār* m. effective instrument
P	آمادہ	*āmādâ* adj. ready, prepared
P	آمد	*āmad* f. coming, arrival
P	آمد و رفت	*āmad o raft* f. coming and going, intercourse
P	آمیزش	*āmeziš* f. mixture

ا

	اپنانا	*apnānā* vt. to make one's own, to adopt
A	اثر	*asar* m. effect, influence; *asar paṛnā* vi. effect to be produced
A	اثرات	*asarāt* (s. *asar*) mp. effects, influences
	اجالا	*ujālā* m. light, dawn

A	اجتہادی	*ijtihādī* adj. innovative, creative
A	اجراء	*ijrā* m. carrying out, performance
	اچنبھا	*acambhā* m. wonder, miracle
A	احترام	*ihtirām* m. honour
A	احتیاط	*ihtiyāt* f. care, careful provision
A	احساسات	*ihsāsāt* (s. *ihsās*) mp. feelings
A	اختیار	*ixtiyār* m. power, influence; *ixtiyār r.* vt. to have the power
A-	ادا کرنا	*adā k.* vt. to express
A	ادب	*adab* m. literature; respect, courtesy
A	ادبی	*adabī* adj. literary
A	ارتقاء	*irtiqā* m. evolution, development
A	ارتقائی	*irtiqāī* adj. evolutionary
A	ارشاد	*iršād* m. guidance, direction; *iršād farmānā* vt. to direct
P	از	*az* prepn. from; than; *az sar-e nau* adv. afresh
P	استاد	*istād* adj. erected
A	استاد	*ustād* m. teacher, ustad
A	استعداد	*isti'dād* f. ability, command
P	استوار	*ustuvār* adj. strong, firm
A	اسماء	*asmā* (s. *ism*) mp. nouns
A	اشاعت	*išā'at* f. publishing
A	اصل	*asl* f. basis; adj. basic, actual, original
A	اصلی	*aslī* adj. original, real
A	اصلیت	*asliyat* f. basic identity
A	اصول	*usūl* m. principle
A	اضافت	*izāfat* f. izafat, genitive
A	اضافہ	*izāfâ* m. addition, increase
A	اظہار	*izhār* m. expression
A-	اعلان کرنا	*i'lān k.* vt. to announce
A	اعلیٰ	*a'lā* adj. high, senior
A	اعمال	*a'māl* (s. *'amal*) mp. actions, deeds
P	افسانہ	*afsānâ* m. story
P	افسردہ	*afsurdâ* adj. cooled, extinguished
P	افسوس	*afsos* m. regret; intj. alas!
A	افعال	*af'āl* (s. *fi'l*) mp. verbs
A	اقدام	*iqdām* m. move
A	اکثریت	*aksariyat* f. majority
	اکھاڑا	*akhāṛā* m. wrestling-ground
	اگت	*ugat* f. inventive power
A	الا	*illā* cj. otherwise, moreover
A	الزام	*ilzām* m. charge, accusation
A	الفاظ	*alfāz* (s. *lafz*) mp. words
PA	المناکی	*alam-nākī* f. tragedy
	الو	*ullū* m. owl
A	امتحان	*imtihān* m. examination
A	امر	*amr* m. thing, matter
A	انتخابی	*intixābī* adj. electoral
A	انتظام	*intizām* m. arrangement, organization

A	انتظامات	*intizāmāt* (s. *intizām*) mp. arrangements
A	انتظامی	*intizāmī* adj. organizational
A	انتہا	*intihā* f. limit
P	انجمن	*anjuman* f. society
P	انداز	*andāz* m. manner
A	انفرادی	*infīrādī* adj. individual
	انگلی	*unglī* f. finger
A	اواخر	*avāxir* (s. *āxir*) mp. last days
A	اوقات	*auqāt* (s. *vaqt*) mp. times
PA	اہل	*ahl-e* pref. people of
PA	اہلِ زبان	*ahl-e zabān* mp. native speakers
PA	اہل کار	*ahl-kār* m. official, clerk
PA	اہلِ مغرب	*ahl-e mağrib* mp. Westerners, Europeans
A	اہم	*aham* adj. importance
A	اہمیت	*ahammiyat* f. importance
A-	ایجاد کرنا	*ījād k.* vt. to create, to make up
	ایک ساتھ	*ek sāth* adv. together
P-	ایک گونہ	*ek-gūnâ* adj. a certain, some

ب

	بادشاہت	*bādšāhat* f. reign
P	بارہ	*bārâ* m. respect, regard
P	بازگشت	*bāz-gašt* f. return
	باسی	*-bāsī* adj. suf. -smelling
A	باعث	*ke bā'is* ppn. because of
P	باغ	*bāğ* m. garden
A	بالتخصیص	*bit-taxsīs* adv. especially, particularly
A	بالذات	*biz-zāt* adv. essentially
PA	بامراد	*bā-murād* adj. successful, as one would wish
P-	باون گز	*bāvan-gaz* m. giant
P-	بپا ہونا	*ba-pā h.* vi. to be afoot, to arise
	بتاشا	*batāšā* m. hard sugar-puff
	بٹھانا	*biṭhānā* vt. to establish
P-	بجائے	*kī(ke) ba-jāe* ppn. instead of
A	بحر	*bahr* f. sea; metre
P	بخوبی	*ba-xūbī* adv. well, perfectly
P	بدتر	*bad-tar* adj. worse
PA	بدتمیز	*bad-tamīz* adj. rude
P	بدستور	*ba-dastūr* adv. as usual, as before
PA-	بدولت	*kī ba-daulat* ppn. thanks to
P	براہِ راست	*ba-rāh-e rāst* adv. directly
P-	برپا کرنا	*bar-pā k.* vt. to set afoot, to cause
	برتن	*bartan* m. pot, vessel
	برتنا	*baratnā* vt. to use
PA-	برخلاف	*ke bar-xilāf* ppn. against
	برس	*baras* m. year; *baras-hā baras* adv. for years and years
P	برِّصغیر	*barr-e sağīr* m. subcontinent

P	برف	*barf* f. ice
P	بروزن	*bar-vazn-e* prepn. on the pattern of
	بڑھنا	*baṛhnā* vi. to advance; to increase
P	بزرگ	*buzurg* adj. old, senior; m. elder, senior
A	بعض	*ba'z* adj. some; *ba'z auqāt* adv. sometimes
PA	بعضے	*ba'ze* adj. some
PA	بطور	*ba-taur* prepn. by way of, as
P	بلکہ	*balki* cj. but also, indeed
P	بلند	*buland* adj. high, lofty, raised
P	بلندآہنگ	*buland-āhang* adj. high-sounding
P	بلندبانگ	*buland-bāṅg* adj. loftily announced
A	بناء	*binā* f. foundation, basis
P	بندہ	*bandâ* m. slave, creature; pr. I
P	بنیاد	*bunyād* f. foundation, basis
	بوجھ	*bojh* m. burden
	بولی	*bolī* f. speech, spoken language, language
P	بہار	*bahār* f. spring
S	بھاشا	*bhāšā* f. language, Hindi
S	بھاکھا	*bhākhā* f. local language, vernacular
	بھاگنا	*bhāgnā* vi. to run
	بہانا	*bahānā* vt. to make flow, to shed
P	بہترین	*bihtarīn* adj. best, finest
	بھلاپن	*bhaddā-pan* m. clumsiness
	بھروسا	*bharosā* m. reliance, trust
P-	بہم پہنچانا	*ba-ham pahuṅcānā* vt. to acquire, to get
S	بھوت	*bhūt* m. evil spirit
	بھونکنا	*bhoṅknā* vt. to thrust in, to stab
A-	بیان کرنا	*bayān k.* vt. to explain, to express oneself
P	بے باک	*be-bāk* adj. shameless, brazen
PA	بے تمیزی	*be-tamīzī* adj. indiscriminate
P	بے چُون وچرا	*be-cūn o cirā* adv. without question
P	بیرونی	*berūnī* adj. from outside, external, foreign
P	بے کار	*be-kār* adj. unemployed
P	بیگانگی	*begānagī* f. estrangement
	بیل	*bail* m. ox, bullock
A	بین الاقوامی	*bainal-aqvāmī* adj. international

پ

	پاجی	*pājī* m. uneducated person, low type
	پار	*-pār* adv. suf. beyond, trans-
P	پامال	*pā-māl* adj. trampled
P	پائندہ	*pāindâ* adj. enduring
	پٹھا	*paṭṭhā* m. young of bird or animal
	پٹی	*paṭṭī* f. bandage
S	پرجا	*parjā* f. people, subjects
P	پس	*pas* cj. so, therefore
P	پست	*past* adj. low; humble, subdued
P	پس ماندہ	*pas-māndâ* adj. remaining

	پکڑنا	*pakaṛnā* vt. to seize, to grasp
	پگڑ	*paggaṛ* m. large turban
	پلانا	*pilānā* vt. to give to drink, to serve water
E	پلٹن	*palṭan* f. regiment
	پو	*pau* f. drinking-stand
P	پوشاک	*pošāk* f. dress
	پھلنا پھولنا	*phalnā phūlnā* vi. to flourish
P	پہلوان	*pahlvān* m. wrestler
	پہنچا	*pahuṅcā* m. wrist
	پھنسانا	*phaṅsānā* vt. to cause to be caught, to involve
	پھیر	*pher* m. alteration, variation
	پھیلنا	*phailnā* vi. to spread, to extend
	پیا	*payyā* m. wheel
P	پیچ	*pec* m. wrestling-throw
P	پیدا	*paidā* adj. born; *paidā k.* vt. to create, to produce; *paidā h.* vi. to be born, to be produced
	پیڑھی	*pīṛhī* f. generation; *pīṛhī ba-pīṛhī* adv. from generation to generation
P-	پیش	*se peš* ppn. in advance of; *peš ānā* vi. to occur, to present itself
PA	پیشِ نظر	*peš-e nazar* adv. before one's eyes
P	پیغامبر	*paiğām-bar* m. message-bearer
P	پیوست	*paivast* adj. joined, connected

ت

A	تاریخ	*tārīx* f. history
A	تاسف	*tāssuf* m. regret
	تان	*tān* m. pull, draw
A	تتبع	*tatabbu'* m. following, imitation
A	تجویز	*tajvīz* f. decision
A	تحریر	*tahrīr* f. writing, composition
A	تحریک	*tahrīk* f. movement
A	تحقیق	*tahqīq* f, research; *tahqīq k.* vt. to investigate, to research into
A	تحقیقی	*tahqīqī* adj. research-
P	تخت	*taxt* m. throne
A	تخلیقات	*taxlīqāt* (s. *taxlīq*) fp. creations, creative works
A	تدبیر	*tadbīr* f. plan, contrivance
P	ترازو	*tarāzū* f. balance, scales
A	ترجمان	*tarjumān* m. interpreter, interpretation
A	ترجمانی	*tarjumānī* f. representation, interpreting
A	ترجمہ	*tarjumâ* m. translation
A	ترقی	*taraqqī* f. development, progress; promotion; *taraqqī k.* vt. to develop, to progress
PA	ترقی پذیر	*taraqqī-pazīr* adj. developing
A-	ترک کرنا	*tark k.* vt. to abandon, to give up
A	ترکیب	*tarkīb* f. construction, compound
A	ترکیبی	*tarkībī* adj. 'synthetic'

A	تصحیح	*tashīh* f. correction
A	تصنیف	*tasnīf* f. composition; *tasnīf k.* vt. to compose, to compile
A	تصوّر	*tasavvur* m. imagination, conception
A	تعریف	*ta'rīf* f. praise; *ta'rīf k.* vt. to praise
A	تعصّب	*ta'assub* m. prejudice, bigotry
A	تعصبات	*ta'assubāt* (s. *ta'assub*) mp. prejudices
A	تعظیم	*ta'zīm* f. respect
A	تعلق	*ta'alluq* m. connexion
A	تعلیم	*ta'līm* f. education
A	تعمیر	*ta'mīr* f. building, construction
A-	تعین	*ta'ayyun k.* vt. to determine, to fix
A	تغافل	*tağāful* m. neglect, inattention
A	تفاوت	*tafāvut* m. difference
A	تفسیر	*tafsīr* f. Quranic commentary
A	تفصیلی	*tafsīlī* adj. 'analytic'
A	تقاریر	*taqārīr* (s. *taqrīr*) f. speeches
A	تقاضا	*taqāzā (-â)* m. demand
A	تقریر	*taqrīr* f. speech; *taqrīr k.* vt. to make a speech
A	تکلیف	*taklīf* f. trouble, distress
P	تلاشی	*talāšī* f. search
A	تلفظ	*talaffuz* m. pronunciation
	تلک	*talak* ppn. until
A	تمام	*tamām* adj. all
A	تمدّن	*tamaddun* m. civilization
A	تمیز	*tamīz* f. proper behaviour, good manners
PA	تمیزداری	*tamīz-dārī* f. discretion
P	تنگ	*tang* adj. narrow, restricted
	توبڑا	*tobṛā* m. bag, sack
	تھان	*thān* m. bolt of cloth
A	تہذیب	*tahzīb* f. culture
A	تہذیبی	*tahzībī* adj. cultural

ٹ

	ٹکر کھانا	*ṭakkar khānā* vt. to vie with
	ٹھکانا	*ṭhikānā* m. place
	ٹھوٹھ	*ṭhoṭh* adj. dense, stupid
	ٹھیلنا	*ṭhelnā* vt. to push along

ث

A	ثانی	*sānī* adj. second
A	ثقافت	*saqāfat* f. culture
A	ثقافتی	*saqāfatī* adj. cultural

ج

A	جاری	*jārī* adj. continuing

P	جاگزیں	*jā-guzīṅ* adj. embedded, ensconced
A	جاہل	*jāhil* adj. ignorant
P	جدا	*judā* adj. separate, distinct
A	جدید	*jadīd* adj. modern
A	جذبات	*jazbāt* (s. *jazbâ*) mp. feelings, emotions, passions
A	جرأت	*jur'at* f. daring, courage
	جڑ	*jaṛ* f. root
	جڑوانا	*jaṛvānā* vt. to cause to be studded
P	جستجو	*just-jū* f. search
P	جشن	*jašn* m. festival, rejoicing
PA	جلوہ گر	*jalvâ-gar* adj. ensconced
A	جلیل القدر	*jalīlul-qadar* adj. illustrious
A	جماعت	*jamā'at* f. class, group, party
A	جمع	*jama'* f. plural; adj. gathered
A	جملہ	*jumlâ* m. sentence; adj. all
A	جمہوری	*jumhūrī* adj. democratic
A	جناب	*janāb* m. Mr.
P	جنگ	*jang* f. war
S	جنم	*janam* m. birth; *janam d.* vt. to give birth to
S	جنم بھوم	*janam-bhūm* f. birthplace
A-	جواب	*javāb d.* vt. to answer; to dismiss
A	جواہر	*javāhir* (s.*jauhar*) mp., m. jewels, jewellery
	جوتنا	*jotnā* vt. to yoke
	جوڑنا	*joṛnā* vt. to fit, to join
A	جوہر	*jauhar* m. jewel; essence; temper
A	جہاز	*jahāz* m. ship, vessel
	جھگڑا	*jhagṛā* m. quarrel, dispute, controversy; *jhagṛā kharā k.* vt. to start dispute, to foment controversy
A	جہلاء	*juhalā* (s. *jāhil*) mp. the ignorant
	جھینپنا	*jheṅpnā* vi. to feel embarrassed

چ

	چپراسی	*caprāsī* m. peon
	چرچا	*carcā* m. talk, discussion
P	چسپاں	*caspāṅ* adj. suitable, applicable
P	چناں چنیں	*cunāṅ-cunīṅ* f. smart talk
P	چنانچہ	*cunāṅci* cj. accordingly, so
P	چند	*cand* adj. some, a few
P	چندہ	*candâ* m. contribution, subscription
P	چوب	*cob* f. pole
S-	چوجگی	*cau-jugī* adj. ancient
	چوکیات	*caukiyāt* (s. *caukī*) fp. stations, posts
P	چہارشنبہ	*cahār-šambâ* m. Wednesday
	چھپائی	*chapāī* f. printing
	چھٹنا	*chuṭnā* vi. to be released
	چھرا	*churā* m. large knife, dagger
	چہیتا	*cahetā* adj. beloved, darling

ح

A	حاجت	*hājat* f. need
A	حاصل	*hāsil* m. acquisition; *hāsil k.* vt. to acquire, to get; *hāsil h.* vi. to be acquired
A-	حاضر کرنا	*hāzir k.* vt. to present, to adduce
A	حالت	*hālat* f. state, condition
A	حامی	*hāmī* m. supporter
PA	حتیٰ کہ	*hattā ki* cj. even
A	حد	*had* f. degree
A	حرکت	*harakat* f. movement
A	حروف	*harūf* (s. *harf*) mp. letters; particles
A	حسن	*husn* m. beauty
A	حصہ	*hissâ* m. part, portion; role
A	حضور	*huzūr* m. presence
A	حق	*haq* m. right
A	حقوق	*huqūq* (s. *haq*) mp. rights
A	حکومت	*hukūmat* f. government
A	حل	*hal* m. solution; *hal h.* vi. to be solved
A	حمایت	*himāyat* f. support; *himāyat k.* vt. to support
A	حمایتی	*himāyatī* m. supporter
A-	حوالے	*ke havāle* ppn. in the care of; *ke havāle k.* vt. to hand over, to entrust to
A	حیثیت	*haisiyat* f. status; respect, aspect
A	حیران	*hairāṅ* adj. astonished, bewildered, harassed

خ

P	خاک	*xāk* f. dust, ashes
A	خالص	*xālis* adj. pure
A-	ختم ہونا	*xatm h.* vi. to end
P	خرد	*xurd* adj. young, junior
A	خطاب	*xitāb* m. title
A	خطوط	*xutūt* (s. *xat*) mp. letters
A	خلل	*xalal* m. damage; *xalal ḍālnā* vt. to disturb, to damage
P	خوبی	*xūbī* f. excellence, good quality, beauty
PA	خوش اسلوبی	*xuš-uslūbī* f. elegance
P	خون	*xūn* m. blood
A	خیال	*xiyāl* m. thought, idea; *xiyāl r.* to bear in mind
A	خیالات	*xiyālāt* (s. *xiyāl*) mp. ideas
A	خیمہ	*xīmâ* m. tent

د

A-	داخل ہونا	*dāxil h.* vi. to enter
A	دارالخلافت	*dārul-xilāfat* m. capital
A	دارالعلوم	*dārul-'ulūm* m. university
	داڑھی	*dāṛhī* f. beard

P	دانا	*dānā* adj. wise
A	دائرہ	*dāirâ* m. range, compass
P	دراز	*darāz* adj. long
PA	دراصل	*dar-asl* adv. really
P	دربار	*darbār* m. court
A	درجہ	*darjâ* m. degree
PA	درس گاہ	*dars-gāh* f. educational institution
PA	درس و تدریس	*dars o tadrīs* m. study and teaching
P-	درمیان	*ke dar-miyān* ppn. between
P-	دریافت کرنا	*dar-yāft k.* vt. to inquire
P	دستار	*dastār* f. turban
P	دستگاہ	*dast-gāh* f. ability, power, command; knowledge, understanding
A	دعوت	*da'vat* f. call, proclamation
A	دعویٰ	*da'vā* m. claim
A	دفاتر	*dafātir* (s. *daftar*) mp. offices
A	دِقّت	*diqqat* f. difficulty, awkwardness
P	دل	*dil* m. heart
	دل بادل	*dal-bādal* m. pavilion
P	دل شکنی	*dil-šikanī* f. breaking the heart, distress
P	دل نشینی	*dil-nišīnī* f. attractiveness, appeal
P	دلی	*dilī* adj. heartfelt, genuine
P	دم	*dam* m. breath; *dam mārnā* vt. to boast, to claim
A	دماغ	*dimāğ* m. brain
	دن	*din* m. day; *din ba-din* adv. daily
P	دوبالا	*do-bālā* adj. double
PA	دولت مند	*daulat-mand* adj. rich
S	دھرم	*dharam* m. religion, religious purpose
P	دیدہ	*dīdâ* m. eye, look
P	دیگر	*dīgar* adj. other
P	دیوان	*dīvān* m. collected poetical works, divan

ڈ

	ڈھالنا	*ḍhālnā* vt. to mould
	ڈھلنا	*ḍhalnā* vi. to be moulded
	ڈھیر	*ḍher* m. pile, heap

ذ

A	ذخیرہ	*zaxīrâ* m. stock, store, treasure
A	ذریعہ	*zarī'â* m. means, medium
PA	ذمّہ داری	*zimme-dārī* f. responsibility
A	ذہن	*zihn* m. mind, intellect
A	ذی علم	*zī-'ilm* adj. educated

ر

A	رابطہ	*rābitâ* m. connexion, link

S	راجدھانی	*rāj-dhānī* f. capital
S	راشٹربھاشا	*rāšṭar-bhāšā* f. national language
P	راہ	*rāh* f. road, way
A	رائج	*rāij* adj. current
A	ربط	*rabt* m. connexion
A	رتبہ	*rutbâ* m. rank
A	رجحان	*rujhān* m. tendency
	رجواڑہ	*rajvāṛā* m. Hindu kingdom
A	ردیف	*radīf* f. end-rhyme
A	رسالہ	*risālâ* m. treatise, essay
P	رسائی	*rasāī* f. reach, access
P	رفتار	*raftār* f. movement, gait
P	رفتہ	*ruftâ* adj. refined
P	رفتہ رفتہ	*raftâ raftâ* adv. gradually
A	رفقاء	*rufaqā* (s. *rafiq*) mp. colleagues
	رکاوٹ	*rukāvaṭ* f. obstacle
	رگڑ	*ragaṛ* f. rubbing
A	رواج	*rivāj* m. currency, use
A	روایات	*rivāyāt* (s. *rivāyat*) fp. traditions
A	روحانی	*rūhānī* adj. spiritual
P	روشنی	*raušnī* f. light
P	رہا	*rihā* adj. released
P	رہنما	*rah-numā* m. leader, guide
P	رہنمائی	*rah-numāī* f. leadership

ز

P	زبان	*zabān* f. tongue; language
P	زبردست	*zabar-dast* adj. powerful, overwhelming
P	زمین	*zamīn* f. earth, ground; scheme of rhyme and metre
P	زندہ	*zindâ* adj. living
A	زوال	*zavāl* m. decline
PA	زیادہ تر	*ziyādâ-tar* adv. mostly

س

P	سادگی	*sādagī* f. simplicity
A	ساکن	*sākin* m. inhabitant, resident
P	سایہ فگن	*sāyâ-figan* adj. overshadowing
A	سبب	*sabab* m. reason, cause
A	سبیل	*sabīl* f. drinking-stand
	سچائی	*sacāī* f. truth, right
	سرا	*sirā* m. edge, limit
P	سراغ	*surāğ* m. sign, trace
P	سرپرست	*sar-parast* m. patron
P	سرکار	*sarkār* f. government
P	سرکاری	*sarkārī* adj. official, government-
P	سرگرم	*sar-garm* adj. active
P	سرگرمی	*sar-garmī* f. activity

P	سرمایہ	*sarmāyâ* m. stock
P	سفارش	*sifāriš* f. recommendation
A	سلسلہ	*silsilâ* m. chain, series; connexion
A	سلطان	*sultān* m. sultan, emperor
A	سلطنت	*saltanat* f. sultanate, empire
A	سلوک	*sulūk* m. behaviour; *sulūk k.* vt. to behave towards
S	سماج	*samāj* m. society
	سمجھانا	*samjhānā* vt. to make understand, to explain
	سنبھالنا	*sanbhālnā* vt. to undertake
A	سنَد	*sanad* f. authority, precedent
	سو	*so* cj. so
P	سوار	*savār* adj. mounted, riding
P	سوداسلف	*saudā-suluf* m. business, trading
	سہارے	*ke sahāre* ppn. with the support of
A	سیاسی	*siyāsī* adj. political
	سیر	*ser* m. seer, two pounds
P	سینہ	*sīnâ* f. chest

ش

A	شاعری	*šā'irī* f. poetry
A	شامت	*šāmat* f. ill-luck
PA	شان وشوکت	*šān o šaukat* f. grandeur
P	شائستگی	*šāistagī* f. civilized quality, gentlemanliness, chasteness
P	شائستہ	*šāistâ* adj. decent, gentlemanly, civilized
A	شُبہ	*šubhâ* m. doubt
A	شدید	*šadīd* adj. fierce
P	شستگی	*šustagī* f. purity, chasteness
P	شستہ	*šustâ* adj. pure, chaste
A	شعر	*ši'r* m. verse
PA	شعروسخن	*ši'r o suxan* m. poetry
PA	شعروشاعری	*ši'r o šā'irī* m. poetry
A	شعراء	*šu'arā* (s. *šā'ir*) mp. poets
A	شفقت	*šafqat* f. kindness
P	شکار	*šikār* m. hunting
P-	شمارکرنا	*šumār k.* vt. to reckon
A	شملہ	*šamlâ* m. end of turban
A	شوق	*šauq* m. pleasure, delight; *šauq se* adv. with pleasure
P	شہرپناہ	*šahr-panāh* f. city walls

ص

A	صاف	*sāf* adj. clean; simple; adv. absolutely, very
A	صحبت	*suhbat* f. company, society; assembly, social gathering
A	صحیح	*sahīh* adj. correct
A	صدا	*sadā* f. call

A	صدارت	*sadārat* f. presidency
A	صدر	*sadr* m. president
PA	صرفی ونحوی	*sarfī o nahvī* adj. grammatical
PA	صفائی	*safāī* f. cleanness, hygiene; simplicity, clarity
A	صفات	*sifāt* (s. *sifat*) fp. adjectives
A	صلاحیّت	*salāhiyat* f. capability, potential
PA	صوبائی	*sūbāī* adj. provincial
A	صوبہ	*sūbâ* m. province
A	صورت	*sūrat* f. form; way

ض

A	ضائع کرنا	*zāi‘ k.* vt. to waste
A	ضد	*zid* f. stubbornness, obstinacy
A	ضمائر	*zamāir* (s. *zamīr*) fp. pronouns
A	ضمیر	*zamīr* f. heart, mind; pronoun
A	ضوابط	*zavābit* (s. *zābitâ*) mp. rules, laws

ط

A	طاؤس	*tāūs* m. peacock
A	طباعت	*tabā‘at* f. printing
A	طبقہ	*tabqâ* m. class
A	طریقہ	*tarīqâ* m. way, manner
A	طلباء	*tulabā* (s. *tālib*) mp. students
PA	طلب گار	*talab-gār* adj. desirous of, seeking
A	طناب	*tanāb* f. tent-rope
A	طوفان	*tūfān* m. storm, flood
PA	طول وعرض	*tūl o ‘arz* m. length and breadth

ظ

A	ظاہر	*zāhir* adj. apparent, obvious, expressed

ع

A	عاجز	*‘ājiz* adj. in despair
A	عالم	*‘ālim* adj. learned; m. scholar
A	عامی	*‘āmī* adj. common, uneducated
A	عدم	*‘adam* m. lack; pref. non-
PA	عدم موجودگی	*‘adam-maujūdagī* f. absence
A	عذر	*‘uzr* m. excuse
A	عربی	*‘arabī* f. Arabic
PA	عربی دان	*‘arabī-dān* m. one who knows Arabic
A	عرصہ	*‘arsâ* m. period
A	عروج	*‘urūj* m. zenith, high point
A	عزم	*‘azm* m. intent, resolve
A	عظیم الشان	*‘azīmuš-šān* adj. splendid, glorious
A	عقل	*‘aql* f. brain, intelligence

PA	علاقائی	*‘ilāqāī* adj. local
A	علاقہ	*‘ilāqâ* m. area
A	علماء	*‘ulamā* (s. *‘ālim*) mp. learned people, scholars
A	علمی	*‘ilmī* adj. scholarly, learned, scientific
A	عمدہ	*‘umdâ* adj. excellent, fine
A	عمل	*‘amal* m. action, practice; rule; *‘amal k.* vt. to practise
A	عمومی	*‘umūmī* adj. general, popular, universal
A	عنصر	*‘unsur* m. element, component
A	عنوان	*‘unvān* m. manner
A	عوام	*‘avām* (s. *‘ām*) mp. common people, the people, the masses
A	عوامی	*‘avāmī* adj. of the people, common, popular
A	عود	*‘ūd* m. lute
A	عہد	*‘ahd* m. time, period

غ

A	غالب	*ğālib* adj. preponderant, overwhelming
A	غرض	*ğaraz* m. purpose, intent; cj. in short
A	غزل	*ğazal* f. ghazal, lyric
A	غضب	*ğazab* m. anger; injustice
A	غلطی	*ğalatī* f. mistake
A	غیر	*ğair* adj. other, different; foreign
PA	غیرفطری	*ğair-fitrī* adj. unnatural
PA	غیرمتوازی	*ğair- mutavāzī* adj. unbalanced

ف

P	فارسی	*fārsī* f. Persian
P	فارسی دانی	*fārsī-dānī* f. knowing Persian
A	فارغ	*fārig̃* adj. free, at leisure
A	فاعلی	*fā‘ilī* adj. nominative
A	فتح	*fath(â)* m. the short vowel *a*
A	فتنہ	*fitnâ* m. trouble, disturbance
A	فحش	*fuhš* adj. rude
A	فرض	*farz* m. duty
P	فرمان	*farmān* m. order, command
P-	فرمانا	*farmānā* vt. to order, to command
A	فریق	*farīq* m. party, adversary
A	فساد	*fasād* m. disturbance, mischief
A	فصاحت	*fasāhat* f. eloquence
A	فصحاء	*fusahā* (s. *fasīh*) mp. the eloquent, men of letters
A	فصیح	*fasīh* adj. eloquent, stylistically right
A	فقرہ	*fiqrâ* m. sentence
PA	فلسفیانہ	*falsafiyānâ* adj. philosophical
P	فولاد	*faulād* f. steel
A	فیاض	*fayyāz* adj. bounteous
A	فی الجملہ	*fil-jumlâ* adv. overall, broadly

A فی الحقیقت *fīl-haqīqat* adv. actually, in fact
PA فیض رسانی *faiz-rasānī* f. liberality

ق

A قابل *qābil* adj. able, capable; *ke qābil* ppn. deserving, worthy of, worth
A قاعدہ *qā'idâ* m. rule; primer, grammar
A قافیہ *qāfīyâ* m. rhyme
PA قافیہ پیمائی *qāfīyâ-paimāī* f. rhymesmanship
PA قانونی *qānūnī* adj. legal
A قائد *qāid* m. leader
A- قائل کرنا *qāil k.* vt. to convince
A قائم *qāim* adj. established; *qāim k.* vt. to establish; *qāim h.* vi. to be established
A قبول *qabūl* m. acceptance; adj. accepted, agreeable; *qabūl k.* vt. to accept
A قد *qad* f. height
A قدرت *qudrat* f. command, power
PA قدردان *qadar-dān* m. patron
PA قدردانی *qadar-dānī* f. patronage
A قدم *qadam* m. step; *qadam uṭhānā* vt. to take steps, to take action; *qadaṁ ba-qadam* adv. step by step
A قدیم *qadīm* adj. ancient, old
A- قراردینا *qarār d.* vt. to decide, to adjudge, to pronounce
A قریبًا *qarīban* adv. approximately, about
A قصبہ *qasbâ* m. town
A قصیدہ *qasīdâ* m. ode, qasida
A قطعہ *qit'â* m. piece, chunk
A قلمی *qalamī* adj. handwritten
P قلی *qulī* m. coolie, porter, labourer
A قواعد *qavā'id* (s. *qā'idâ*) mp. rules, grammar
A قوافی *qavāfī* (s. *qāfīyâ*) mp. rhymes
A قوم *qaum* mf. people, tribe; nation, community
A قومی *qaumī* adj. national
A قیاس *qiyās* m. estimate, imagination
A قید *qaid* f. bondage, confinement

ک

P کار *kār* m. work
P کارآمد *kār-āmad* adj. useful, effective
P کارگر *kār-gar* adj. effective
P کارنامہ *kār-nāmâ* m. achievement
A کامل *kāmil* adj. full, complete
P کامیاب *kām-yāb* adj. successful
A کتابت *kitābat* f. calligraphy
A کثرت *kasrat* f. abundance
P کرختگی *karaxtagī* f. harshness, rigidity

	کڑی	*kaṛī* f. link
A	کسرہ	*kasrâ* m. the short vowel *i*
P	کشادہ	*kušādâ* adj. broad
P	کشتی	*kuštī* f. wrestling
E-	کلاسکی	*kalāsikī* adj. classical
E	کلچر	*kalcar* f. culture
A	کمال	*kamāl* m. perfection, supremacy
P	کمتر	*kam-tar* adv. seldom
P	کمزور	*kam-zor* adj. weak
P	کمزوری	*kam-zorī* f. weakness
	کوٹھا	*koṭhā* m. roof, upper storey
	کورا	*korā* adj. blank, ignorant
	کونہ	*konâ* m. corner
	کھڑا کرنا	*khaṛā k.* vt. to raise, to start
	کھسکنا	*khisaknā* vi. to slip away
	کھل کھیلنا	*khul khelnā* vi. to act openly
	کھلنا	*khulnā* vi. to open, to come undone
	کھینچوانا	*khiṅcvānā* vt. to cause to be tightened
A	کیفیت	*kaifīyat* f. splendid sight; account, description
E	کیمپ	*kaimp* m. camp

گ

	گاؤں	*gāoṅ* m. village
	گدھا	*gadhā* m. donkey, ass
P	گذشتہ	*guzaštâ* adj. past, former
P	گراں	*girāṅ* adj. heavy; disagreeable
PA	گرانقدر	*girāṅ-qadar* adj. valuable
P	گرانی	*girānī* f. heaviness
	گرجنا	*garajnā* vi. to thunder, to roar
P	گردن	*gardan* f. neck
P	گرفتار	*giriftār* adj. arrested
P	گرفتاری	*giriftārī* f. arrest
P	گروہ	*guroh* m. group
P	گز	*gaz* m. yard
P	گفتار	*guftār* f. speech
P	گفتگو	*guft-gū* f. conversation
	گلا	*galā* m. neck, throat
P	گناہ	*gunāh* m. sin
	گنوار	*gaṅvār* m. peasant
P	گو	*go* cj. although
P	گوارائی	*gavārāī* f. pleasantness
E	گورنمنٹ	*gavarnmanṭ* f. government
P	گوشمالی	*goš-mālī* f. punishment
P	گوشہ	*gošâ* m. corner
P	گویا	*goyā* cj. as if
P	گویائی	*goyāī* f. speech, conversation
	گھاگس	*ghāgas* m. a large fowl
	گہرا	*gahrā* adj. deep

	گھرانا	*gharānā* m. family
	گھسنا	*ghisnā* vi. to be worn smooth
	گھلاوٹ	*ghulāvaṭ* f. mellowness
	گھونٹنا	*ghoṇṭnā* vt. to squeeze, to throttle
	گھیرنا	*ghernā* vt. to surround
S	گیان	*gyān* m. knowledge, intellect

ل

A	لاتعاون	*lā-ta'āvun* m. non-cooperation
A	لاثانی	*lā-sānī* adj. unequalled, peerless
A-	لائق	*ke lāiq* ppn. suitable for
A	لحاظ	*lihāz* m. regard, note; respect; *lihāz r.* vt. to have regard to
	لڑنا جھگڑنا	*laṛnā jhagaṛnā* vi. to fight, to quarrel
A	لسان	*lisān* f. tongue, language
A	لسانی	*lisānī* adj. linguistic
A	لسانیات	*lisāniyāt* f. linguistics
P	لشکر	*laškar* m. army, camp
A	لعنت	*la'nat* f. curse
A	لغات	*luğāt* (s. *luğat*) mp. words; s. dictionary
A	لغت	*luğat* m. word, vocable; vocabulary, lexicon, dictionary
A	لغوی	*luğavī* adj. lexical
A	لقب	*laqab* m. title
	لوچ	*loc* f. pleasantness, sweetness
	لوہا	*lohā* m. iron
A	لہجہ	*lahjâ* m. accent, pronunciation, delivery
A	لیاقت	*liyāqat* f. ability
	لین دین	*len-den* m. dealings, business

م

A	ماخوذ	*māxūz* adj. taken, borrowed
P	مادری	*mādarī* adj. mother-; *mādarī zabān* f. mother-tongue
A	مال	*māl* m. property, possessions
P	مانند	*mānind* prepn. like
P	ماہ	*māh* m. month
A	ماہیت	*māhiyat* f. essence
A	مبدا	*mabdā* m. source
A	متابعت	*mutāba'at* f. following, observing
A	متانت	*matānat* f. determination, obstinacy
A	متجسس	*mutajassis* adj. inquiring
A	متحد	*muttahid(â)* adj. united
A	متحمل	*mutahammal* adj. bearing
A-	متصل	*ke muttasil* ppn. adjoining
A	متعارف	*muta'āraf* adj. known, well-known
A	متعجب	*muta'ajjib* adj. amazed

A-	متعلق	*ke muta'alliq* ppn. concerning, about
A	متفق	*muttafiq(â)* adj. agreed, concerted
A	متمول	*mutamavvil* adj. wealthy, opulent
A	متن	*matan* m. text
A	متوسط	*mutavassit* adj. average, middling
	مٹکا	*maṭkā* m. jar, pot
	مٹنا	*miṭnā* vi. to be effaced, to fade
	مٹھی	*muṭṭhī* f. fist
PA	مثل	*misl-e* prepn. like, just as
A	مثلاً	*maslan* cj. for example
A	مجال	*majāl* f. power, ability
A	مجالس	*majālis* (s. *majlis*) fp. organizations
A	مجروح	*majrūh* adj. wounded, affected
A	محبت	*muhabbat* f. love, affection
A	محتاج	*muhtāj* adj. in need of
A	محدود	*mahdūd* adj. confined, restricted
A	محروم	*mahrūm* adj. deprived
A	محض	*mahz* adv. merely, only
A	محقق	*muhaqqiq* m. researcher, expert
A	محکمہ	*mahkamâ* m. court, department
A	محنت	*mihnat* f. hard work, industriousness
A	محنت مزدوری	*mihnat-mazdūrī* f. labouring
A	مخاطب	*muxātab* m. person addressed
A	مخصص	*muxtas* adj. special, especially associated with
A	مدّت	*muddat* f. period, a long time
PA	مذکورۂ بالا	*mazkūrâ-e bālā* adj. aforementioned
A	مذہبی	*mazhabī* adj. religious
A	مراکز	*marākiz* (s. *markaz*) mp. centres
A	مرتب	*murattab* adj. organized, edited
A	مرقوم	*marqūm(â)* adj. composed, written
A	مرکب	*murakkab* adj. compounded, compound
A	مرکزی	*markazī* adj. central
A	مروج	*muravvaj* adj. current
	مروڑنا	*maroṛnā* vt. to twist
PA	مزاج پرسی	*mizāj-pursī* f. asking after health
PA	مسافران	*musāfirān* (s. *musāfir*) mp. travellers
A	مستعمل	*musta'mal* adj. used, current
A	مستفاد	*mustafād* adj. received, acquired
A	مسلّط	*musallit* adj. dominant
A	مسودات	*musavvidāt* (s. *musavvidâ*) mp. manuscripts
A	مسودہ	*musavvidâ* m. draft, manuscript
A	مشترک	*muštarak(â)* adj. common, shared
A	مشغول	*mašğūl* adj. busy, engaged
A	مصنوعی	*masnū'ī* adj. artificial
A	مضامین	*mazāmīn* (s. *mazmūn*) mp. subjects, topics
A	مضمر	*muzmar* adj. included, incorporated
A-	مطابق	*ke mutābiq* ppn. according to
A	مطابقت	*mutābaqat* f. conformity
A	مطالعہ	*mutāla'â* m. study; *mutāla'â k.* vt. to study

A	مطبع	*matba‘* m. press
A	مطلق	*mutlaq* adj. fundamental, basic; adv. absolutely
A	معرّیٰ	*mu‘arrā* adj. free, bare
A	معزز	*mu‘azzaz* adj. distinguished, respected, respectable
A	معقول	*ma‘qūl* adj. reasonable, decent
A	معلومات	*ma‘lūmāt* (s. *ma‘lūm*) fp. information
A	معلیٰ	*mu‘allā* adj. exalted
A	معمولی	*ma‘mūlī* adj. ordinary, common-or-garden
A	معنیٰ	*ma‘ne* mp. meaning
PA	معنےٰ آفرینی	*ma‘ne-āfirīnī* f. creation of ideas
A	مفسد	*mufsid* m. troublemaker
A	مفعولی	*maf‘ūlī* adj. accusative
A	مفید	*mufīd* adj. useful
A	مقام	*maqām* m. place
A	مقامی	*maqāmī* adj. local
A	مقبولیت	*maqbūliyat* f. popularity
A	مقتضیٰ	*muqtazā* m. requirement, demand
A	مقدار	*miqdār* m. measure
A	مقدمہ	*muqaddamâ (-imâ)* m. preface, introduction; law-suit, case
A-	مقدور بھر	*maqdūr-bhar* adv. to the best of one’s ability
A	مقرر	*muqarrar(â)* adj. established
A	مکرّر	*mukarrar* adv. repeatedly
A	مکروہ	*makrūh* adj. improper, unpleasant
A	مکمل	*mukammal* adj. complete
A	ملتوی	*multavī* adj. postponed
A	ملکہ	*malkâ* m. genius, mastery
A	مماثلت	*mumāsalat* f. similarity
A	مناسب	*munāsib* adj. suitable
A	منتقل	*muntaqal* adj. transferred, borrowed
A	منتہا	*muntahā* m. limit, height
	منجنا	*manjnā* vi. to be polished
A	منزل	*manzil* f. goal
PA	منزلِ مقصود	*manzil-e maqsūd* f. goal, destination
A	منصف	*munsif* m. judge
A	منطق	*mantiq* f. logic; spoken language
	منگوانا	*maṅgvānā* vt. to order
A	مواد	*mavād* m. material
A-	موافق	*ke muāfiq* ppn. according to
	موٹا	*moṭā* adj. thick, dense
PA	موجودگی	*maujūdagī* f. presence
A	موجودہ	*maujūdâ* adj. current, present
A	موزوں	*mauzūṅ* adj. suitable
A	مولد	*maulid* m. birthplace
S	مہاجن	*mahājan* m. banker, merchant
A	مہلت	*muhlat* f. respite, leisure
A	مہم	*muhim* m. campaign
	میاں	*miyāṅ* m. sir, friend, title of respect
A	میت	*mayyat* f. corpse

P میدان *maidān* m. field, battlefield
A میزان *mīzān* f. balance, scales

ن

PA نابلد *nā-balad* adj. ignorant
ناچ *nāc* m. dance, nautch
P ناخدائی *nāxudāī* f. captaincy
P ناگزیر *nā-guzīr* adj. necessary, inevitable
P ناگوار *nā-gavār* adj. unpleasant, disagreeable
PA ناواقفیت *nā-vāqifīyat* f. lack of acquaintance, ignorance
ندان *nidān* adv. finally, at last
نرا *nirā* adj. downright, mere
P- نزدیک *ke nazdīk* ppn. near; in the opinion of
P نژاد *nižād* m. origin, stock, descent
A نسبت *nisbat* f. relationship
A نشا *našā* f. creation, production
PA نشوونما *našv o numā* f. development; *našv o numā d.* vt. to develop
A نصف *nisf* m. half
A نصیب *nasīb* m. fortune, lot; *nasīb h.* vi. to fall to the lot of, to be granted to
A نظریات *nazriyāt* (s. *nazriyâ*) mp. theories
A نظریہ *nazriyâ* m. theory
A نعمت *ni'mat* f. comfort, delight
A نفرت *nafrat* f. hatred
PA نکتہ رس *nuktâ-ras* adj. discerning
P نگاہ *nigāh* f. look, gaze
P نگہداشت *nigah-dāšt* f. regard, preservation
P نہاد *nihād* m. stock
A نہایت *nihāyat* adj. extreme, great; adv. extremely, very
A نہر *nahr* f. canal
P نیز *nīz* cj., adv. also, besides

و

A واجب الترک *vājibut-tark* adj. to be eschewed
A وادی *vādī* f. valley
A- وارد ہونا *vārid h.* vi. to arrive
A- واضح کرنا *vāzih k.* vt. to make plain, to explain, to declare
A واقعہ *vāqi'â* m. event
A واللہ *vallāh* intj. by God!
A وحدت *vahdat* f. unity
P ورنہ *varnâ* cj. otherwise, or else
A وسائل *vasāil* (s. *vasīlâ*) mp. means, resources
A وسعت *vus'at* f. breadth, expansion, extension
A وسیع *vasī'* adj. broad, ample, extended
A وسیلہ *vasīlâ* m. means, medium
A وفا *vafā* f. fidelity

A	ولایت	*vilāyat* f. home country
A	ولولہ	*valvalâ* m. enthusiasm

ہ

P	ہرچند	*har-cand* adj. however much; cj. although
A	ہلال	*hilāl* m. crescent
P	ہم وطن	*ham-vatan* m. fellow-countryman
	ہنسی	*hanśī* f. laughter
P	ہنگامہ آرائی	*hangāmâ-ārāī* f. disturbance, rioting
P	ہوش مندی	*hoš-mandī* f. good sense
	ہونہار	*hon-hār* adj. future, up-and-coming, promising
	ہینگ	*hīṅg* f. asafoetida

ی

P	یادگار	*yād-gār* f. memorial, monument
A	یقین	*yaqīn* m. certainty; *yaqīn dilānā* vt. to make believe
P	یکساں	*yaksāṅ* adv. in the same way, regularly
PA	یک طرفہ	*yak-tarfâ* adj. one-sided
	یوں	*yūṅ* adv. thus, like this
E	یونٹ	*yūniṭ* m. unit

Index of Terms

affix The collective term for the three kinds of morphemes which can be added to a word in different positions: prefix, infix and suffix. (pp.34,37)

allograph One of various possible forms of a grapheme: b, B, *b* are all allographs of the same grapheme. (p. 21)

allomorph One of various possible forms of a morpheme: 'best-' is an allomorph of 'beast' in 'bestial'; H *-ya* vs. *-ā*, e.g. *āyā* vs. *calā*.

allophone One of various possible forms of a phoneme, e.g. the two 'l' sounds in 'label'. (p. 20)

analytic(-al) That variety of language whose syntax is based on separate words (such as prepositions) and on variations in word order, rather than on inflexion; cf. 'synthetic'. (p. 2)

antonym A word which is opposite in meaning to another; 'antonym' is the antonym of 'synonym'.

aspiration The audible breath which accompanies the production of certain sounds. (p. 20)

assimilation The tendency by which one sound is affected by or takes on the quality of a neighbouring one; or by which an unfamiliar word takes on the form of a familiar one. (p.20)

'bound' form A morpheme which cannot occur on its own, e.g. E '-ish', 'un-', '-er'; HU *-e* in *kamre, kare*.

broken plural (A) A plural formed by the re-patterning of the radical letters of the singular. (p.49)

calque A loan translation, in which the various components are separately translated from one language into the other: e.g. H *dūrdarśan* for E 'television', in which Greek 'tele' ('distant') + Latin-derived 'vision' are respectively rendered into S *dūr* + *darśan*. (p.70)

chronogram A phrase, or verse in which numbers are cryptically represented by letters or words. (p.82)

cluster A group of consonants occurring in a word, as the initial 'str' in 'street'. (p.23)

cognate A form historically derived from the same source as another, as H *pita*, E 'father' and Portuguese *padre*.

compound A word made up of two or more other words, e.g. E 'blackbird', HU *dopahar*.

copula A linking word, as the verb linking subject and predicate in 'he is old', or the P *o* 'and' in *āb o havā*. (p.65)

dental A sound made by the tip and rim of the tongue against the teeth. (p.20)

derivative A word formed from or historically stemming from another.

diphthong A syllable containing two distinct and successive vowels, as E 'mice', 'go', 'house'; HU *gaī, gae*. (p.43)

doublet One of a pair of words in the same language representing the same ultimate word but divergent in meaning or form; e.g. E 'royal', 'regal'.

dual A grammatical form expressing duality as opposed to s. or p. number. (p.2)

elision The assimilation of a vowel, consonant or syllable in pronunciation, as e.g. the dropping of '-me' in a rapid pronunciation of 'prime minister'. (p.52)

enclitic A morpheme which always follows another word and cannot stand alone, e.g. HU *hī*.

epenthesis (- epenthetic) The insertion of a sound or letter into a word, as *-a-* in HU pronunciations of E 'film' as *filam*. (p.43)

etymon The word from which a later form has derived. (p.25)

flap An 'r' sound produced by rapid light contact between the tongue and the roof of the mouth. (p.20)

fricative A consonant sound produced by friction when the breath is forced through a restricted opening.

glottal A sound produced in the larynx, at the opening of the windpipe.

glottal stop The sound produced by the release of a closure of the glottis (at the back of the throat), as medially in Cockney pronunciations of 'water', 'bottle', or initially before a strongly pronounced vowel as in 'art'. (p.43)

grapheme A letter of the alphabet, or character of a syllabary.

guṇa (A) A process of vowel extension in which a simple vowel is prefixed by *a*, as *a* > *ā*. (p.33)

hyperbole The use of exaggeration for rhetorical effect.

infix An affix which is inserted medially within a word. (p.42)

inflexion The expression of syntactic relationships typically through variations in termination, as in HU *kamrā – kamre – kamroṅ*.

izafat (P) The suffixed *-e* which typically indicates a possessive relationship between the suffixed noun and the following one, e.g. *zabān-e urdū* 'the language of U', or the qualification of a noun by an adj. or noun, e.g. *zamānâ-e darāz* 'a long period'. (p.64)

jingle-form A morpheme which, though usually meaningless independently, extends or generalizes the sense of a word by imitating its sound; e.g. *-vānā* in HU *khānā-vānā* 'something to eat, grub'. HU also has jingle-compounds, e.g. *laṛnā-jhagaṛnā*. (p.149)

labial A sound produced by the lips. (p.20)

laryngeal The quality of sounds produced in the larynx, the upper part of the windpipe where the vocal cords are situated.

lateral A consonant produced with the sides of the tongue touching the teeth. (p.43)

lexicon The vocabulary of a language, as distinct from its grammar and constructions.

liquid The fluid quality of the sound 'l'. (p.20)

loan-translation Another term for a calque, a word whose component parts are separately translated from another language. (p.70)

minimal pair Two words differentiated in meaning by only a single sound, as 'mud' versus 'mug', or *hai* versus *haiṅ*. (p.19)

modal verb A verb in which the particular manner of an action is expressed by the combination of main verb + auxiliary; in HU the range of such auxiliaries is wide and includes *lenā, denā, jānā, ḍālnā, rakhnā, saknā* etc. (p.28)

modifier A word or phrase which limits or otherwise qualifies the sense of another.

morpheme The smallest functioning unit in syntax, a word or component part or a word: 'sheepish' comprises the morphemes 'sheep' and '-ish'.

morphology That part of grammar which is concerned with the form of words or morphemes, i.e. with word-formation and inflexion, as opposed to syntax. (p.18)

neologism A new word or expression, often coined from existing words or roots.

nominal A word or phrase which stands as a noun, or has some of the attributes of a noun.

palatal A sound pronounced by contact between the middle of the tongue and the hard palate. (p.20)

paradigm The pattern of inflexions of a noun, verb or other word.

parataxis (- paratactic) The arrangement in which clauses are linked only by juxtaposition and not by subordinating connectives such as conjunctions. (p.28)

periphrasis A round-about expression, one which uses a phrase rather than an inflected word, e.g. 'greater in length' as opposed to 'longer'.

phoneme The minimal contrastive unit of sound in a language, e.g. any of the ten vowels of the HU sound system. (p.20)

phonetic Pertaining to the sounds of spoken language. (p.19)

phonology (- phonological) The study of the distinctive patterns of sounds of a language. (p.19)

phrase-verb A verb consisting of a sequence of separate words; in HU these are primarily verbs based on *karnā*, e.g. *kī dekhbhāl karnā* 'to look after'. (p.28)

pleonasm (- pleonastic) Redundancy of a word or words; the use of more words than is necessary to express something.

plosive A sound produced by the sudden release of air pressure, e.g. 'b', 't'.

predicate (- predicative) The word or words which make an assertion or statement about something, as 'is green' in 'the grass is green'.

prefix An affix which is attached to the beginning of a word, e.g. E 'un-', P *be-*. (p.34,57)

pre-modifier A modifier which precedes the word it qualifies, as in HU *angrezī bolne-vāle vakīl* or its E translation 'E-speaking lawyers'. (p.28)

prosody The study of metre and structure in verse. (p.89)

prothesis (- prothetic) The prefixing of a sound to a word to facilitate its pronunciation.

qualify (- qualifier) To express some quality belonging to something, the qualifier being grammatically dependent upon the thing qualified; in *mezeṅ gandī haiṅ* the adj. qualifies the noun.

radical (A) A base or root form, modifications of which form words and indicate various grammatical forms. (p.42)

reduplication The repeating of a word, for an emphatic, syntactic or rhetorical effect. (pp.40–41)

register The range and variety of language used in a particular context, e.g. literary, technical, colloquial etc.

retroflex A sound produced when the tongue is curled back against the hard palate. (p.20)

rhetoric The affective, persuasive or eloquently expressive element in language use.

sandhi Modification in the sound of a phoneme in a particular context, e.g. S *t* > *n* in *jagat* + *nāth* = *jagannāth*, or E pluralizing '-s' realized as /z/ after a voiced sound ('dogs' vs. 'cats'). (p.32)

semantic Relating to the meaning of words.

semivowel A consonant which has some of the phonetic quality of a vowel: 'y', 'v'. (p.20)

sibilant A fricative hissing sound, such as 's', 'sh'.

sound plural (A) A plural formed by the addition of suffixes (p.46).

stress The amount of force used in producing a syllable, dependent upon position in the word, and producing variations of loudness, pitch and length.

suffix An affix which is attached to the end of a word, e.g. '-ful' in 'wonderful'. (p.36, 58)

syntax That area of grammar which is concerned with the way in which words are combined in meaningful patterns. (p.18)

synthetic That variety of language whose syntax is based on inflexion rather than on the use of separate prepositions etc.; cf. analytic. (p.2)

tadbhava That form of a (usually S) word which has been through the processes of historical evolution and therefore differs in form from its etymon. (p.2)

tag A trite phrase or quotation, often intended to round off an argument.

tatsama A S word in its unchanged form, as used in a language which is historically derived from S. (p.2)

velar A sound produced by the back of the tongue against the soft palate. (p.20)

voicing The production of a sound with the vibration of the vocal chords; 'b' is voiced, 'p' is voiceless. (p.20)

vṛddhi (S) A process of vowel extension in which a *guṇa* vowel is prefixed by *a*, or a simple vowel by *ā*. (p.33)

Christopher Shackle is Professor of Modern Languages of South Asia in the University of London.

Rupert Snell is Lecturer in Hindi, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.